

SPEAHRhead

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UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed this declaration as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country,

including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Estate Society

"Images of China's Social Structure: The Changing Perspectives of Canton Students." By Anita Chan. *World Politics* 34:3 (April 1982).

Reviewed by JAMES D. SEYMOUR

Under an unprepossessing title, Anita Chan has written an important, if somewhat disturbing, article which challenges many of our conceptions of Chinese communism. Although her study is based on interviews with emigrés in Hong Kong, it is not so much the information that these interviews generated which is noteworthy, but rather the interpretations she brings to it.

The theoretical structure for Chan's analysis has been provided by Stanislaw Ossowski. To over-simplify a bit, Ossowski described three conceptions of society: dichotomic (2 classes), gradational (many strata), and functional (based on contributions the individual makes to society). A class often adopts an image of society based on that class's interests. Much of the history of the People's Republic, argues Chan, can be explained as contending notions of appropriate social structures.

First, she provides a valuable explanation of how and when Chinese acquire their "class status." Her interviewees had first learned of their status in the second or third grade, when they were required to fill out status forms. Since "class" status is hereditary (normally acquired from the father), students usually had to ask their parents of what "class" the family was "composed" (jieji chengfen). A "good" class origin meant that the father was a worker or long-time Communist. If the parents had been capitalists, rightists, rich peasants, landlords, or worse, the child would be marked for life as being of "bad class composition."

Chan posits three purposes underlying this system. (1) It was a means of redistributing China's wealth. (2) It instilled a new set of social values. (3) It helped preserve the new status quo.

"Reinforcing this third function of the new gradational framework was the state's presumption that political attitudes would be

transmitted from parents to children--that a father's 'political reliability' and 'revolutionary nature' would tend to be hereditary. On these grounds, a family's rank in the gradational hierarchy was to be retained from one generation to the next. The state expected that political support for the Party would thus continue among the children of the favored 80 percent of the populace. But perhaps as much to the point was that a hereditary system of class origins ensured that the recently acquired status of the new ruling elite would be passed on to their own children."

From the beginning there were many in China who realized that such a rigid "gradational" structure had its drawbacks, and that modernization required a more functional approach. People had to be rewarded for the contributions they were making to society, and should not be ascriptively stigmatized to the point where they could not make any.

Actually, in the 1950's (when Chan's interviewees were in elementary school) the recording of "classes" had little immediate effect. The child's day-to-day environment was a meritocracy; the message all got was: "Study for the Revolution." But as they became older (and as China's political climate changed), bad class composition counted for more and more. The unlucky ones in this category were discriminated against not only by the school authorities, but also by fellow students. "As a defense against this open discrimination, they formed a separate subculture, with its own norms of behavior. Since they had little chance of joining the Youth League, most of them exhibited only the modicum of progressive behavior that had become necessary to ward off criticism. They were 'backward elements,' unassertive, reticent, careful in speech and action, passively compliant and, very often, hard-working in their studies. Their only hope was an academic record so outstanding that the authorities would overlook their bad class background."

All this can be analyzed in terms of "estates." Following Ossowski and others, Chan gives four characteristics of an estate social system: (1) inflexible law-based gradations, (2) hereditary social status, (3) very limited cross-group mobility, usually confined to (4) a priesthood. Chan argues that the classic Maoist social structure is precisely an estate system, with the Youth League/Communist Party functioning as a priesthood.

If this fairly describes Maoist society, then what was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution all about? The prevailing wisdom has been that it was to get rid of this "priesthood," which had become what Milovan Djilas elsewhere described as a "new class." It is here

that Chan breaks new historical ground; not every China watcher is going to agree with her.

Earlier, Chan (with Stanley Rosen and Jonathan Unger, in *China Quarterly* Sept. 1980) had published the findings of research which for the first time made comprehensible the Red Guard factionalism of the Cultural Revolution. They found that there were distinct types of Red Guards, and each type was fighting for the interests of its social stratum. In the article under review, Chan divides the Red Guards into two groups: "Loyalists" and "Rebels." (The concepts are not new, but now the terms are given real content.) According to one interviewee:

"It's true that some Rebel Red Guards didn't have a very clear or ideal scenario of the future society.... But at least they identified with the fate of the whole revolutionary movement. It wasn't 'unprincipled sectarianism' [as Mao Zedong was later to claim]. It was actually something not much different from identifying with one's own class."

It was the underground essay "Whither China?" (see *Chinese Law and Government* III:4) that crystallized the thinking of such people. Now, the "rebel" Red Guards saw themselves as opposing the Establishment. Since Mao (1) was responsible for the Cultural Revolution, and (2) opposed the rebels, Chan argues that it was not the purpose of the Cultural revolution to oppose any "new class." That may have been some Red Guards' main purpose, but it was not that of Mao or his aides like Yao Wenyuan and Zhang Chunqiao. Explains Chan:

"Certainly one of Mao's many purposes in launching the Cultural Revolution was to raise people's consciousness against the bureaucratic work-style of authorities at all levels of the bureaucracy. But the Cultural Revolution in this sense was no more than another of those cadre rectification campaigns that have periodically shaken post-liberation China. The difference was one of magnitude. This time, the whole younger generation became involved in giving the bureaucracy a gigantic shake-up--and in defeating Mao's political opponents. These new 'enemy' bureaucrats were those among the Party elite whose policies were less redistributive, more favorable to the former middle classes, and more reliant on material incentives than Mao's policies had been."

All of this has much to do with human rights. If Chan is right, then Mao was not the social egalitarian we thought he was. Can we still say that Mao was advancing human rights simply because he favored equitable distribution above all? Or are the moderates now in control more

pro-rights because they are more interested in making the country as a whole richer, and are less enamored with an estate social system? The answers depend both on whether they do more for the poor than Maoism would have, and on the extent to which they really modify the estate system.

It will be some time before we have the answers, but Anita Chan has given us a fine analytical framework to work within as we seek them. X

Son of Revolution

Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro. *Son of the Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1983. \$15.

Reviewed by MARGOT E. LANDMAN

A problem common to and thus far unresolved by virtually all social revolutions is how to maintain enthusiasm and support among the people who do not remember the status quo ante. One may view many of the political movements in China since the late 1950s as attempts to instill revolutionary fervor in the young, to encourage them to dedicate their lives to building their country into a "strong, modernized socialist state." Newspapers have regularly exhorted students to sublimate their personal ambitions to the loftier goals of the state, as articulated by the national leaders. But we wonder how young people actually react to the demands of the state. How do they interpret the events unfolding around them? How do they perceive their country's past, present, and future?

In the book under review, Liang Heng's life is described from his birth in 1954 to his departure for the United States in 1981, now the husband of co-author Judith Shapiro. Mr. Liang's father was a newspaper editor, and his mother was a functionary in the provincial government. Thus, Liang is not representative of his generation of Chinese. His story is, however, typical of children of intellectuals who watched as the adults around them suffered, as "rightists," "capitalist roaders," members of the "stinking ninth category," and "anti-socialist elements"--to mention just a few of the epithets which destroyed not only careers but families and sometimes even lives.

For us, the value of Liang Heng's tale lies in its detailed description of life in the city and countryside, especially the effect of political movements on families, friendships, and individuals. We are shown the adversarial relationship between political authority on the one hand, and families and individuals on the other. At the same time, Liang and Shapiro have produced a book accessible to the interested general reader. Some will object to the authors' failure to address the underlying causes of the problems confronting China, particularly the reasons behind the treatment of intellectuals. When such questions are raised, we are presented with youthful rather than mature views. Analysis is left to others. Thus, fifteen-year-old Liang is unable to understand:

"Why should two good people like my parents be forced to divorce each other? Why should [elder sister] Liang Fang raise a machine gun against her fellow teenagers? Why did the peasants fear the cadres so terribly if they were representatives of our great Communist Party? Why were people so determined to make me and [my friend] Peng Ming look like counterrevolutionaries when we wanted only to make a contribution to our country? Why had the Revolution given us so little when we had sacrificed everything for it?" (P. 207)

Despite long levelling efforts by the government, tremendous disparities between city and countryside remain in China. Primarily we think of the gap as economic: urban residents are richer and have access to a far wider range of consumer goods and the cash income with which to take advantage of their availability than the peasants. Of at least equal significance are imbalances created by poor education and inadequate transportation and communications systems. Liang's experiences revealed the peasants' resultant ignorance of the world outside their own village. As a child of eight he went to stay with his mother's relatives about one hundred miles north of Changsha to avoid an attack allegedly threatened from Taiwan. "We children played games. Most of them were about Chiang Kai-shek. The peasants knew nothing about him...." (P. 24)

Four years later, during the Cultural Revolution, violence in Changsha made it prudent for Liang to go to the countryside once again, this time to relatives of his step-mother near the Shuangfeng county seat some 350 miles southwest of the provincial capital. The peasants there gathered eagerly to hear this twelve-year-old boy talk of national affairs:

"They asked me all kinds of questions.... It was as if the peasants had no previous knowledge of the Cultural Revolution... 'What's this we've

heard about Rebel factions?' 'What about the Capitalist Roaders? We're not really sure what they are....' 'It's so hard for us to get information here. There's no radio in the Production Team, and we have to go all the way to the commune office to see a newspaper.... We don't have any educated people or Capitalist Roaders.... We're just poor peasants here.'" (P. 97.)

Not long after his sojourn in Shuangfeng, he joined neighbors in Changsha on a "New Long March," retracing the steps of the original revolutionaries. Along the way he found a discrepancy between the glories of peasant liberation as it had been described, and the realities in the countryside:

"The peasants seemed to have been more interested in getting land for themselves than in communism or socialism. I realized, too, that if they had understood so little about the goals of Liberation, they understood even less about the Cultural Revolution... They didn't seem to know why we were there, what was happening in the cities, nor did they really seem to care." (Pp. 104-5.)

When father and son settled in the countryside a year later, Liang Heng again found extreme poverty and ignorance. Fewer than one-third of the people had visited the town less than four miles away. About a tenth had gotten to the more distant county seat. The opportunity to hear the newspaper read aloud by the intellectual from the city and to ask him questions was rare and valued.

Policy changes since the late 1970s have tended to increase rather than decrease the dichotomy depicted by Liang and Shapiro between the urban and rural populations. Economic reforms have brought a higher standard of living to most Chinese, but the greater emphasis on the production and consumption of consumer goods affects urban residents disproportionately as they have cash and access to markets. The spread of radio and television combined with the proliferation of newspapers and magazines devoted to a wide range of subjects again influence urban residents far more than their rural counterparts. The weak distribution network means that publications cannot readily get from the large cities where they are published to other areas. In addition, peasants have neither the money nor the time to spend on books and magazines. The commune or brigade might subscribe to a few journals, but again, it is often difficult to get to the brigade or commune headquarters.

Educational policies continue to favor urban children. The reintroduction of the university entrance examination means that only those with

the best academic preparation will have an opportunity to continue their education beyond middle school. Of far greater significance to most people has been the designation of "key" institutions at the primary and secondary school as well as university level, and the competitive examinations required to attend these schools. The best teachers staff, and the best students attend, the provincial or national "key" schools, whose graduates get the best jobs. Only the most exceptional village children can compete successfully for admission to "key" (or, for that matter, non-key but urban) schools, as in addition to the generally inadequate academic preparation they must overcome, they must also procure permission to move to the city. Without friends or relatives in high places (unlikely in a peasant family), such permission would probably not be forthcoming.

Despite the poor communication system, Party policy certainly finds its way from urban centers into the countryside. Throughout the country, adherence to policy is supposed to have precedence over loyalty to friends and family. One wonders why the government so fears personal autonomy that it feels it necessary to suppress all to blind obedience. When the rural cadres discovered that the "sent down" intellectuals befriended the peasants, the leaders reorganized the former into groups whose members were to oversee each other, thus demonstrating the power of class struggle and removing the possibility of trust, friendship, and interpersonal loyalty. Even before going to the countryside, Liang had become familiar with conflicting allegiances. First his father had denounced his wife. Later, in an attempt to prove her dedication to the revolution, his elder sister did the same. As the Cultural Revolution intensified in Changsha, local leaders demanded that Liang denounce his father. When he was only in his early teens he was separated from both his parents and his sisters. His mother had been sent to the countryside, his father to a cadre school, and his sisters to the remote countryside.

Friendships were also secondary to the dictates of the state. Liang adored a neighbor who was about five years his senior--the above-mentioned Peng Ming. Peng attended college in Beijing, and thus represented sophistication and education to the younger boy. Together they went to Jinggangshan, where Mao's revolution had been born, and to Beijing where Liang had the good fortune to see Chairman Mao at Tiananmen Square. He also participated in factional activities so common during the Cultural Revolution. Little did the child know that association with Peng would bring grief when Peng was accused of participation in the "May 16

conspiracy." During his interrogation, the authorities demanded that Liang "confess" that he and his friend had participated in counter-revolutionary plotting. Thereafter, Liang was left with a black mark on his permanent record: "corresponding with a person with serious political questions." The friendship and attendant "complicated thought" prevented his promotion to upper-middle school.

Years later, fortune seemed to smile on Liang Heng: He landed a factory job in Changsha, became something of a basketball star, and fell in love with a railway conductor, daughter of a high military regional commander. He expressed doubt that her parents would approve of the match, but she disagreed. Finally, he met the family. After a magnificent banquet, intended as a warm welcome to the future son-in-law, Liang returned to the factory. The next evening the girl appeared. Her father had beaten her with steel wire until she agreed to stop seeing Liang. Why? "The man who will stand beside my daughter will wear a green uniform and have a red star on his cap [i.e., be a soldier]..., not a greasy worker's uniform or, even worse, the eyeglasses of a complicated intellectual!" (P. 261). Although they continued to visit each other secretly, their friendship had soured under political pressure.

What is the source of the anti-intellectualism which plagued young Liang? In traditional China the scholar-official, bearer of knowledge and authority, commanded respect. Within that respect, however, may have lurked the envy and anger of the subordinate to the dominant.* (Marxists would discuss the oppressed and the oppressor, but I am referring to a state of mind, not to an economic reality.) After the peasant army came to power, intellectuals suffered tremendously. They formed the targets of numerous rectification campaigns, including many described in "Son of the Revolution." Recent policies reflect the continuing ambivalence toward the intellectual. On the one hand, the quality of educational institutions (teachers, students, course materials and requirements) has improved markedly in the past five or six years. Technical experts have been granted important leadership positions in factories in an effort to stimulate improvements in production; recognition that some aspects of

*I am indebted to Jean Baker Miller for her theoretical model in which she describes Western society as divided into those with power and those without, the dominant and subordinate. See "Toward a New Psychology of Women" (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), especially ch. 1.

foreign culture might prove useful to China has meant higher status for the educated segment of the population, especially those who understand foreign languages and those who comprehend foreign technology. Simultaneously, however, has come renewed fear that the educated elite will gain too much power and prestige as it masters subjects apparently remote from the lives of ordinary workers and peasants. Moreover, political leaders perceive the sophisticated knowledge of the intellectuals as a threat to their authority and power. These fears are clearly expressed in increased political study sessions, tighter controls over who may study what subjects within China and abroad, and restrictions on contacts between foreigners and Chinese.

As the old revolutionaries of peasant and army background retire or otherwise relinquish power, a better-educated, more sophisticated group will govern the country. Because members of this group will come from the educated elite, perhaps the current antagonism between the political leadership and the intellectuals will abate. The practices of the past few years and the continuing dedication to modernization, a goal unattainable without the active participation of the educated, lead one to cautious optimism that the Chinese intellectual might slowly be further integrated into society, rather than repeatedly singled out for attack. x

Paper Spring

De Papieren Lente: Documenten van de Chinese Democratische Beweging, 1978-1983 (Paper Spring: Documents of the Chinese Democracy Movement, 1978-1980) (in Dutch). Edited by Dirk Bergvelt and Charlotte van Rappard. Utrecht and Antwerp: Het Spectrum, 1981.

Reviewed by GREGOR BENTON

Until recently, China loomed large in European radical politics. In few places was this more true than the Netherlands. There, leftist scholars around W. F. Wertheim saw in Mao's China an alternative to the combination of political dictatorship and economic dependency that marks a country like former-Dutch-colony Indonesia. The Cultural Revolution more or less coincided with revolts of the 1960s by Holland's youth and students. These too drew Dutch radicals strongly to Maoist politics.

In the late seventies, Dutch interest in China underwent a shift in emphasis. There developed strong support for China's democratic dissidents. This was partly a product of disillusion with the earlier Maoist experiments. The Dutch are a profoundly democratic and internationalist people, and characteristically their hatred of social injustice and political oppression does not stop at their own frontier. Publication on Chinese dissent has been astonishingly prolific, especially bearing in mind that there are only 20 million Dutch-speakers in the world, and that most educated ones are fluent in one or two foreign languages.

When the Chinese democracy movement of 1978-81 was at its height, Holland's largest liberal dailies carried regular reports and analyses of it (by Willem van Kemenade in NRC Handelsblad, and Daan Bronkhorst in De Volkskrant). Michel Kozzec wrote about Chinese dissent in the influential Haagse Post, which also published the first Western-language translation (by Dirk Bergvelt) of lengthy excerpts from Liu Qing's prison diary. (An English version later appeared in SPEAHRhead, no. 14/15.) The Li-Yi-Zhe wallposter came out in a commercial edition in Holland, while the world barely noticed two English translations.* Dutch was also one of only three languages (along with English, French) in which Amnesty International's book on political imprisonment in China appeared in full.† Even the Netherlands-China Friendship Association has published a volume of critical articles on the theme of democracy and dissent§ --unlike its counterparts in most countries, which usually stick to issues acceptable to the Chinese authorities.

De Papieren Lente is among the latest additions to Dutch publishing about human and civil rights in China. Most of those who worked on it as editors or translators have been active for years in Amnesty International's China campaign. When the collection was planned in early 1980, the majority of China's democracy

*Li I-tse, Helmut Opletal and Peter Schier, China: Wie Tegen Wie? Een Muurkrant van de Oppositie Buiten de Partij (China: Who Against Whom? A Wallposter of the Extra-Party Opposition). Het Wereldster Baarn, 1979.

†Politieke Gevangenen in China, een Rapport van Amnesty International, 1978. AI also published a summary in Chinese.

§Manus Brinkman, et al., Demokratie in China, in China Visie, no. 1, Vriendschaps Vereniging Nederland-China (2e Const. Huygenstraat 60, Amsterdam).

movement activists were still at liberty, with only a few--including Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuehua--already behind bars. Amnesty International's principal concern is with "prisoners of conscience," and not with dissent as such. Thus, this book focuses mainly on the cases of Wei and Fu, although it does record in a postscript the other arrests of April 1981. All the material translated in *Papieren Lente* is by now available in English.* Articles by Wei Jingsheng include his autobiography, "The Fifth Modernization," "Democracy or a New Dictatorship," and "Twentieth Century Bastille." There are also translations of the transcript of Wei's trial and of several pieces about the trial of Fu Yuehua. The collection of Chinese unofficial journals from which most of these translations were made has been deposited in the library of Leiden University's Sinological Institute.

The book has a forward by the Dutch Social-Democratic publicist and scholar Bart Tromp. The introduction is a translation of an updated version of my article "China's Oppositions," first published in *New Left Review* (no. 122). x

New Anthology

Democratic China [Minzhu Zhonghua]: A collection of writings from the democratic movement of the people on the China mainland. In Chinese. Edited and published by the Student Union of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. HK \$ 38.

This collection covers a somewhat longer period than other books of this sort. The first essays are by Tan Tianrong (1957) and Lin Xiling. The Cultural Revolution is represented by Yu Luohe, and Yang Xiguang ("Whither China?"). Several people are included who took advantage of the campaign to "Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" to advocate democracy (Chen Erjin, Xu Shuiliang, and the Li-Yi-Zhe group). Two essays by Han Zhihsung and Wang Juntao are from the "April Fifth" (1976) period.

The longest part of the book consists of essays by the Xidan-era notables: Wei Jingsheng (6 essays); Lu Lin (4); Liu Qing (2); Chen Erjin (2); Fu Shenqi (10); He Qiu

(3); Tao Lin (4); Qin Shuimin (2); and Zhang Jingsheng, Sun Feng, Shi Jianbin, Wang Ifei, and Wang Xizhe (1 each).

Commentary and biographical information about the writers is included. The book also has essays by various individuals outside the PRC, including Chang Ka Mun (Zhang Jia-min), Chen Jinyang, Chen Ruoxi, Chen Ku-ying (Chen Guying), Liu Daren, and Lu Fanzhi. --JS

Constitutionalism

Resources:

"Big Loophole in the Draft Constitution." Zheng-ming 6 081777. On the constitutional provision that leadership over China is to be exercised by the Communist Party. ZM comments: "'Leadership' is a general term that defies explanation... If the 'leadership of the Party' only refers to ideological and political guidance or guidance in a political line which proves correct or consistent with the people's interests, such leadership deserves endorsement by all. But if 'leadership of the Party' means dictatorship putting everything under its command, or a form of interference in all aspects of life, and if it means putting the Party in the place of the government, or the 'exercise of dictatorship by a single Party' which may become 'one-man dictatorship' or 'dictatorship under one supreme leader,' such 'leadership of the Party' will 'lead' the people on the road to tragedy... No knowledgeable Chinese now accepts the concept of placing the Party above the state, the people and the court, or giving it the power to run roughshod over democratic rights. We believe that the CPC should confine itself to moral leadership, and relinquish the baton of force."

Cui Min. "Develop Democracy and Perfect the Legal System." *Minzhu yu fazhi* 10 250 082789. Urges meaningful and tough implementation of the new constitution. "The old feudal system of 'evading punishment by giving up one's official post' and similar methods cannot be permitted, nor the practice of favoritism and bending the law, showing indulgence and tolerance in case of dereliction of duty by certain cadres. If in such cases the facts of the crime have been clearly established, the evidence is absolutely reliable, the circumstances especially serious and the dangers arising from the crime particularly great, the ban against the death penalty should be lifted and the extreme penalty be resolutely carried out, i.e., executing one to warn a hundred."

*Mostly in *The Fifth Modernization* (Earl Coleman Enterprises, POB T, Crugers NY 10521)

Feng Bing. "From 'Rule by Man' to 'Rule by Law.'" People's Daily 7D 082789. "We often hear that Chinese society has long been feudal. Though from it has risen one of the proudest civilizations..., it has also spawned stunting malignant growths. Take the rule of law: In the Chinese classics you can find many phrases such as 'a clearly written code and an unbending law,' and 'a permanent code that binds all posterity.' In practice, we only find 'lawless' law, 'the rule of man,' and 'rule by officials.' ...Searching the classics' yellowed pages for constitutionalism is like climbing a tree to find fish....

"The modern socialist citizen wants 'rule of law,' and not for cadres to function as mandarins. However, there are still people who, due to the momentum of history, have wittingly or unwittingly departed from law, or view the fundamental law of the nation as a meaningless document which they can obey or disobey at will. We have read in the papers that a county CP secretary once asked: 'Which has more authority, the constitution or a Party secretary?' Though this is now quoted as a joke, it still gives us food for thought."

Liao Guangming. "Comment on the 1982 Draft Revision of China's Constitution." Ming Bao Monthly 6 081777. A lengthy, detailed analysis by a Hong Kong Chinese University scholar. Foresees no separation of the Party and government. "The suggestion of a 'constitutional court' to ensure the implementation of the state constitution made by some CPC jurists a while ago can be regarded as an apt remedy. (See Wu Xieying and Luo Haocai, "The Constitution and the System of Investigating Unconstitutional Acts," Baiken zhishi [Encyclopedic Knowledge] 12, 1980). Naturally, to be able to ensure the implementation of the state constitution, a 'constitutional court' must play a unique role, free from Party control, before it can discharge its functions. Therefore, the creation of an independent constitutional court should be the goal of the endeavor of the Constitutional Revision Committee."

Jin Sikai. "Mao Zedong's Thoughts About Constitutions." Ming Bao Yue Kan 5 (1982). "Mao Zedong said: 'What are "inherent human rights"? Our rights are granted by the common people, first of all by the working class and the poor lower and middle class peasants.' Thus, in his constitutional thought there is no contractual concept of protecting 'human rights,' and he also emphasized: 'The state machinery of the army, police and courts are tools for class to oppress class. For the class opposed they are instruments of oppression, and its violence is not something which is in any way "benevolent."'"

Jin continues: "This dictatorship which scorns

human rights and denies the theory of contracts in reality carries on the feudal system which is centered on human dependence; as for the constitution of the People's Republic of China which embodies Mao Zedong's constitutional thought, it is only an overcoat decorated with modern class colors....

"A People's Daily editorial on 1 October 1981 emphasized: 'We should think of questions our forerunners did not dare to think and dare to do things our forerunners did not dare to do.' Now is an excellent time to make good on that!"

Meng Xi. "Refuting the Queer Arguments for Deleting Article 34 of the PRC Constitution." Hong Kong Ta Gong Bao 17a819'82. Discusses an article (source unspecified) which had called for the eliminations of §34 (freedom of expression, etc.) on the grounds that in China such guarantees are meaningless. Meng asserts that since the Cultural Revolution, such rights have existed. "In today's China, no one is tried purely for his ideological beliefs and no one is persecuted for being ideologically progressive, unlike those Americans who were persecuted and accused of opposing the United States because they were ideologically progressive during the McCarthy era."

Pan Jiahua. "Which Is Supreme: The State or the Party?" QN 6 081777. Agrees with other Hong Kong media that the value of the new constitution will depend on how it is implemented. Previous constitutions were often "a mere scrap of paper." The 1970 constitution was "absurd," representing only "a piecing together of the prevailing political slogans." Thus, it is understandable that today people doubt the value of a constitution." Other constitutions reviewed, with only that of 1954 meeting Pan's approval.

"In terms of the basic rights and duties of citizens, all the provisions of the 1954 constitution are more or less restored [in the current draft], with the notable addition of a provision on freedom of the person." However, there are important omissions and restrictions. The freedom-of-expression rights specified have appeared in the previous constitutions, but the 1954 provision that "the state will provide the necessary material facilities to ensure the citizens' enjoyment of these freedoms" is missing. Elsewhere, "ground is reserved for civil rights violators," and the distinction between rights and responsibilities is obscured. A questionable new clause prohibits citizens (but not necessarily officials) from making false, insulting or slanderous charges or distorting facts. Workers rights are inadequate.

The provision prohibiting "foreign control of religion" is seen as inappropriate. Religion is a world phenomenon. <CONT'D COL. 39>

'headlines

This section is comprised of items of information arranged according to Universal Declaration of Human Rights article number (see page 2), and broken down thereafter by country or territory. If no article of the Declaration is specifically relevant, we designate the category "00." If more than one article applies, our allocation may be arbitrary.

Inclusion of an item does not necessarily imply a judgment that a violation of human rights has actually taken place. For example, we include information on the use of capital punishment even in the cases of common-law criminals (under 05), though the Declaration takes no clear position on whether or not such executions violate human rights.

As with other material appearing in SPEAHRhead, we present this information in the belief that it will be of interest to members, but we cannot always vouch for the validity of the allegations. Our sources (usually the media of the country concerned) are indicated at the end of each item.

China

00. PARTY MEMBERS' RIGHTS.

Last fall the Chinese press carried a series of lectures on the new Party constitution. The eighth lecture discussed members' rights. "Party members have the right to participate in the discussion of questions concerning the Party's policies and to disagree with those policies.... They have the right to criticize any Party organization or member and to lay information or charges concerning violations of discipline." However, "if everyone wanted to enjoy rights but not fulfill duties, then the individual rights of the Communist Party members could not be guaranteed." Thus, one must "accept the job assigned to themselves, and enthusiastically complete the Party's mission, ...uphold the Party's solidarity and unity, oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small group activities, and oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind."

ZJR812N 082590

See col. 33 on the voiding of a local intra-Party election originally won by insurgents.

02. EQUALITY.

WOMEN:

Because of China's strict birth-control policies, and the preference of many parents for sons, the killing of unwanted daughters appears widespread. The enlarged standing committee of the National Women's Federation met in April, and chairman Kang Kejing spoke on the subjects

of discrimination and infanticide. "The emergence of a few evil phenomena in such a large country as ours is not at all surprising and only indicates that we Chinese women still need to wage an arduous struggle in our march ahead." Stern measures against these practices were promised. The fifth National Women's Congress is scheduled to meet in the autumn.

XH17A18

At the close of the meeting, a resolution was passed calling for the publicizing of cases where "advanced persons have stepped forward to protect the legal rights and interests of women and children." It was "demanded" that the women's federations at all levels be deeply involved in the problem of "the sufferings of women and children, and work in coordination with the departments concerned to resolutely struggle against the crimes of violating the legal rights and interests of women and children."

XH28A82m

A spokesman for the State Family Planning Commission has called female infanticide "an intolerable crime." He revealed that a 1982 sample investigation indicated a ratio of male:female births of 1078:1000, while the 1982 census showed a population ratio of 1063:1000 {XH 14AB 18}. A Suzhou grandmother was executed for killing her two granddaughters, aged one and four {Nongren RB 13I}. A Liaoning worker was sentenced to 13 years in prison for killing his 2½ - month-old daughter {GM 13I}.

Two PRC students in the US wrote an op-ed piece for the New York Times {11A} opposing infanticide.

The State Statistical Bureau has put the male:female new-born ratio at 1087:1000, and gave the same population ratio as above. In some areas, the ratio is higher. In certain places,

female babies have been drowned or abandoned, and the situation is quite serious. XH17A18

(Note: It is normal for male births to exceed female births, and for male infants and older men to have a higher death rate than females.)

People's Daily carried a "commentator" article opposing forced marriages. "When a young girl is threatened with [such] misfortune, it is the unshirkable duty of every member of our great socialist family to boldly come out and offer enthusiastic help. The fact that a junior middle school girl of only 16 should be forced to marry a man from a strange land is quite shocking. What is worth pondering is that the persons who enforced the marriage [in one case cited] were none other than her own parents." Another case is cited where a young woman was driven to suicide. It is noted that backward marriage practices are not confined to villages, but also exist in cities. "The key lies in whether or not there is strong support from the organizations, masses and public opinion." The task of safeguarding girls' and women's rights "is both colossal and arduous." 14AB15

RESOURCES:

"Investigation Conducted by Anhui Provincial Women's Federation Shows the Seriousness of the Situation of Drowning Baby Girls in rural Areas and the Resulting Disproportion Between Male and Female Babies." PD 7A3.

"Safeguard the Legitimate Rights and Interests of Women and Children." Editorial, PD 29A3m.

"Women's Federations Should Courageously Safeguard Women's Interests." 12A314.

Zhang Mincai. "On the Protection of Baby Girls." GM 30DB101.

ETHNIC MINORITIES.

China's intellectuals and professional people, particularly those in the non-Communist parties, are being encouraged to go to border areas to assist ethnic minorities. Two thousand members of the Democratic League and other "democratic parties" are said to have signed up to do such work "this year for varying periods of time." They will lecture, give short courses, train teachers, and offer consultative services. 8R30m, PD6FB15

Medical care is said to be improving for China's ethnic minorities. There are now 28,200 "medical institutions" in minority areas, and 368,800 health workers. (This would be one for every 185 population.) Only 80,500 of these are minority people. 3,400 practice traditional (minority) medicine. XH8m311

Tibetans. The most important of the above-mentioned traditional schools of medicine is Tibetan. In recent years, the Chinese have been paying more attention to Tibetan medical practices. An old and lengthy Tibetan medical treatise has just been translated into Chinese. It is said to be the first time such a work has been translated into Chinese. It has been published under the title: Selected Works on Traditional Tibetan Medicine. BJ7m319

The Bangen Lama (second major figure in L. Tibetan Church after the exiled Dalai Lama) has visited to Tibet last year for the first time since 1964. He had been removed from power by the Chinese on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. He apparently has now satisfied Beijing regarding any nationalistic sentiments. "Xizang cannot be independent. Given independence, it could not survive and could only turn to foreign countries for aid. This idea of 'an independent Xizang' is an illusion that is not only incompatible with the historical facts of Xizang but also against the fundamental interests of Tibetans. We must safeguard the unity of the motherland just as we safeguard our eyeballs."

Liaowang 20N 082590

Our new "Headlines" feature is comprised of the former Crossreference and bibliographic sections. Certain material which would have been included in those sections appears elsewhere in this issue. Because we now offer a KWIC list (see centerfold), we believe that it is no longer vital to have all information catalogued as it has been in the past. However, readers' reactions to these and the various other innovations in this issue will be welcome.

See inside back cover for key to abbreviations and symbols.

The marriage age has been lowered in Tibet to 20 (men) and 18 (women), but "voluntary" late marriage is still encouraged. New cases of polygamy and polyandry are punished, but such marriages previously entered into may continue. XZ30AB1m81

Mongols. More than 1,400 residents of Yunnan are asking to be recognized as Mongols. Until now they have hidden their true identity and registered as "Huns" [sic (Hans?)]. It is expected that their request will be granted. This will bring the number of acknowledged Mongols in the province to 6,000. XH18I 082789.

Mongols are a small minority in Inner Mongolia, and (partly as a result of past government policies) the use of their language has decreased. Now, greater attention is being paid to the preservation, study and use of Mongol. In April, first AR Party secretary Zhou Hui declared: "This work is very significant in our region and is a vital task for the Party. We must carry it out successfully." It was necessary to "eliminate the influence of the leftist line" in this regard. NM14AB20

05. EXECUTIONS.

People have been executed for hijacking planes and boats. Five men who had attempted to hijack a Shanghai-bound plane were shot as "counterrevolutionaries" by a firing squad last August. A factor in the harsh sentence appeared to be the court's finding that they "remained hos-

tile to the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship as well as to the socialist system." The sentence was upheld on appeal. Only 25 days elapsed between the commission of the crime and the executions. {BJ19a82; see also: SN26DB6I, and our commentary on KMT, col. 38 below}. In Fujian, Liu Dequan and Yu Chengju were executed for attempting to hijack a ferry to Taiwan {HKS 14M}.

Other reports of people being executed or given death sentences (by crime):

Drug trafficking: SCM 27N.

Economic crimes: CD 23I; HKS 18I, 19I, 22I; Straits Times 19I; Philippine Daily Express 19I; XH21I824.

Mayhem: HKS 31D.

Murder: HKS 14I, 12I.

Rape: HKS 26N, 3D, 15D, 24D, 14I, 16I, 14M, 17M; SCM 27M; National Echo (Malaysia) 5D.

Robbery: HKS 14I; SCM 27N.

Sabotage, counterrevolutionary: J116m319

09. IMPRISONMENT.

International appeals have been launched on behalf of Liu Shangqing (Lao San-ching), the Hong Kong electronic sales engineer who was arrested during a visit to China and sentenced to ten years. The authorities have not provided Liu's family with any explanation. A Committee for the Rescue of Lao San-ching has been formed in Hong Kong (POB 89278, Kowloon City PO). (Amnesty International has declared Liu an "urgent action case.") HKS 23A

Raymond Ratillon, 49, has been released from a Chinese prison. He had been arrested in 1955 during a raid against Shanghai Catholics. 12A8

See also: col. 26 ("Spy Obsession").

RESOURCES:

Fang Dan (interviews with). "Life in Banbuqiao Prison" (two) and "Some Beijing Prisons." Baixing 39, 40, 41 (1I, 16I, 1F). Parts 2-4 of a series.

10. DOUBLE JEOPARDY.

The original 5-year sentence for a Liaoning leftist has been revoked as excessively lenient by the Jinzhou Intermediate People's Court. Construction worker Jin Decun had been charged with various acts of violence, but he has insisted on his innocence and called his trial "a joke on history." He served his term and was released on 6 April 82, at which time his wife and others sought to publicize the case. He was rearrested and sentenced to an additional 20 years. 26&28aB30'82

RESOURCE:

Shi Fengyi. "Arguments in Court Must Show Evidence, Just Grounds, and Restraint." Faxue Yanjiu #2 081811.

13. EMIGRATION.

Unlike in the Soviet Union and pre-Deng China, people seeking to emigrate legally are rarely harassed by PRC authorities. The main barrier is lack of a recipient country. Most go to Hong Kong, but opportunities there are diminishing {see SCM23DB27}. Although only 8,000 moved to the US in 1981, emigration policies have been liberalized (the PRC and Taiwan now being treated as separate entities for the purpose), and 14,000 made the move in 1982. The theoretical maximum is 20,000. Malaysia Star 15F

16. SEXUAL FREEDOM.

Although in general China is puritanical, Workers' Daily {14j} last year called editorially for greater sexual freedom. Surprisingly, Western attitudes toward sex were declared more advanced than China's. Those who considered sexual liberation "bourgeois," and who attack unconventional sexual behavior, are wrong. "History will prove that those who are condemned are innocent." "Sexual liberation is inevitable and implies progress." The editorial advanced some shocking notions: (1) In an ideal communist society, people would be able to choose their partners with total freedom. (2) Marriage is based on sex. ("If it is not based on sex, why cannot two people of the same sex marry?") JT16J82

18. RELIGION.

Catholicism. In Shanghai, four elderly Roman Catholic priests have been returned to prison. They advocated maintaining ties with the Vatican. The priests had first been imprisoned in 1955. They were arrested again in 1981 and imprisoned for as long as sixteen months. This time the sentences were 15 and 11 years, respectively. Zhu Hongshen (Vincent Chu) and Zhen Yuntang were charged with fabricating rumors, subversion, and endangering the sovereignty and safety of the state. Earlier, Chen Baishun and Stephen Chen were given 10 and 2½ years, respectively. Some of the men were charged with colluding with foreign countries, which can mean having unauthorized contacts with visitors from abroad. Another Catholic leader, Bishop Ignatius Kung, is still believed to be in prison, where he has been since 1955. NYT2m

Confucianism. During the early years of the PRC, Confucius and Confucianism was almost totally ignored. Then, after 1970, Confucius (in conjunction with more recent villains such as Lin Biao) came under attack. Now, Confucius has been rehabilitated. The sage has even been declared "a great educator, thinker and politician." Scholarly conferences about him have been given much attention in the Chinese media.

See: three articles in BR#22 3m

Atheism. The journal Philosophical Trends carried a report on the third annual meeting of the China Atheists Society, held in March. The

history of atheism is discussed, both in terms of China's history and Marxist theory.

At the meeting, a new study of religion was called for. "Many of the comrades maintained that the science of the study of religion should become an independent discipline in Marxist philosophy and social science. It should use the Marxist viewpoint to study this social phenomenon, explain the nature, character and morphological manifestation of religion as well as its role in history, and bring to light the general law governing its emergence, development and eventual dying out. The writing of this book will play a positive role in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Some of the comrades proposed that, when writing this book, we should also pay attention to scientific spirit and stability. We must include the attitude and policy of the Party toward religion as an important part of its content." GM4AB15

RESOURCES:

China Talk. 5/6 (Dec.). On religion in China; NPC, etc. [2 Man Wan Rd., C-17, Kowloon HK. \$6/yr]

Fan Jiang. "Stamp Out the Unhealthy Trend of Feudal Superstitious Activities." NF 5m81B 20m81

Israeli, Raphael. Muslims in China: A Study in Cultural Confrontation. London and Malmö: Curzon Press, £6.50.

Wren, Christopher S. "A Jewish Legacy Draws to a Close in North China." NYT 27F. See also: exchange of letters on the same subject between Chan Sui-jeung and Anson Laytner in China Notes (475 Riverside Dr., NY 10115), 20:4 & 21:1.

Ya Hanzhang. "Carry Out the Policy of Freedom of Belief and Oppose Feudal Superstitious Activities." GM 20A81B11m81.

19. EXPRESSION:

As part of the "Five Emphases, Four Beautifications" campaign, China has tried to clean up the Chinese language. The problem of "language pollution" is said to have become serious during the Cultural Revolution. "Obscene words and expressions handed down from the old society together with those propped up during the 10 years of political upheaval spread everywhere like germs drifting in the air. They have impaired the health of our language, corrupted people's minds." PD19JBj81

However, some have charged that the means employed to clean up people's speech are unconstitutional. Such is said to be the case, for example, when a commune or brigade fines a person or deducts workpoints. "Some rules even stipulate that the peasants should be fined for swearing at others and the fine should be paid according to the number of swear words used.... Some leaders take their words as law and mete out punishments at will. Such arbitrary punishments encroach on the citizen's democratic rights. Moreover, such a method of punishment often sharpens contradictions and runs counter

to the purpose of building a spiritual civilization through strengthening the socialist legal system.... It is necessary to educate cadres to strictly abide by the Constitution." HLJ16mB19

More generally, People's Daily has complained that the language standard of the whole community has dropped, that the popularization of the use of standard spoken Chinese now is not being done as well as it was in the 1950s, and that non-standardized language (both spoken and written) is now used to a serious extent. "Incorrect pronunciation occurs daily not only in people's conversation, but also in our radio and television broadcasting." Although the paper does not make the point clear, this may indicate a resurgence of local dialects. PD19JB2j81

Although the newspaper Reference News (which carries reports from foreign sources) has a restricted readership, it has the lowest level of classification of any of China's restricted periodicals. An article in China Daily says that unnamed China watchers exaggerate its secrecy. The newspaper is said to be widely available to "the man and woman in the street," and is read by millions. Although RN is not sold in stores, many can subscribe to it and take it home. "Reports keep turning up abroad that the tabloid is restricted to high cadres." [This particular paper can be read by lower-level cadres and party members.] "Actually, it's just about 10 years now since the ordinary Chinese has been getting it--in factories, offices, communes, schools, service units, etc. There was a time before the China watchers discovered its existence [actually, its existence has long been known by non-Chinese] when perusers of the Chinese press in Hong Kong and other points outside China were quite wrong about how much the Chinese didn't know concerning what was going on in the world." (The writer does not point out that the paper, like many in China, is unavailable to foreigners.) 4J5B81

In Shandong Province, 29-year-old Wang Yunshu was charged as a "criminal" for having put up "reactionary" posters. Wang had worked as a guard at the Xigang coal mine. 19mB26

Spy obsession seems to pervade Chinese officialdom in recent years. At Shandong University (still apparently a leftist stronghold) students were warned in 1981 that foreign schoolmates may be engaged in "espionage." Some have been accused of photographing lavatories, mêlés over food, etc. Foreign students were denounced for "encouraging the young Chinese to read unhealthy magazines" such as the left-liberal Zhengming (Hong Kong). SCM12J16'81

Boatmen were seized in waters off Zhejiang and charged with spying for the KMT. CD22I

Seven "KMT spies" were arrested in Tianjin, including 3 women. All pleaded guilty. The "chief of station" (a cadre in a food processing factory) is said to have been recruited in 1981 during a visit to Japan. XH23AB25

Not even people in the northwest are immune to such a charge. A peasant in Gansu was jailed as a KMT spy. {CD5I} <CONT'D COL. 31>

KWIC List

This is not an index in the usual sense (such would involve unacceptable publishing delays) but rather a computer-generated list of "key words in context" (KWICs). A "key word" is a name or term which researchers might conceivably seek; in this KWIC list, key words follow the >. The "context" is the ten-or-so words surrounding the key word in the text; it provides the researcher with some basis for deciding whether the entry would be of interest. In the case of certain frequently-found but minimally-useful forms, the contexts have been dropped to save space, and only column numbers are indicated. If it is unclear to which country the entry refers, consult "Area Guide" on the front cover.

There are certain peculiarities in format. If a Chinese given name (second name) is comprised of only one Chinese character (e.g. Mao Dun, Ouyang Shan), the entry will usually appear on this list with no space after the surname (MaoDun, OuyangShan). Any final S has been ignored for purposes of alphabetizing. Certain extraneous capital letters (e.g. R) appear in the "context" but not in the text; these are computer print-codes and the reader should ignore them. A plus sign (+) at the right end of the context indicates that the key word appears more than once in the same text column, and only the context for the first occurrence appears below.

COL.

KEY WORD

39, is a rich source on the problems of
6 their studies. Their only hope was an
11 only those with 5 the best
39 about the "depressing situation" of
34 oval and assistance. 3. In inviting
51 panese citizens." However, in 1947 an
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21 SOURCES:K "Investigation Conducted by
15 the Lung arc Wang Juntao are from the
11 does record in a postscript the other
37 not any political factors behind the
37 Prisoners of conscience. Political
37 ong electronic sales engineer who was
24 t been imprisoned in 1955. They were
36 KMT.R CD221 Seven "KMT spies" were
36 Unfortunately, it is precisely those
37 nces. The most prominent figure to be
38 iation and speech. Examples of people
45 office of united front work, had been
48 tion by David Shaw. F y father was
34 RESOURCES:K Robin Munro. "Unofficial
34 Current Policy Toward Literature and
41 e against modernist literature and
42 1982. "With a regard to literature and
34 Munro. "Unofficial Art in China: How
35 2 18:6. "Of course, the writers and
42 etely and uncritically accept Western
41 of Western modernist literature and
24 R See: three articles in BR22 3m
25 The R SPEARhead 18 history of
24 the third annual meeting of the China
21 in places, R SPEARhead 18 female
41 ncluded were old, sick, pregnant, and
31 300.BIN. Contains discussion of the
34 writers because of his criticisms of
34 ture commissars: Liu SPEARhead 18
33 g various writers in China, including
23 Fang Dan (interview with). "Life in
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13 ectrum, 1981. Reviewed by GREGOR
19 WOMEN:K Because of China's strict
36 ould-be participants. JTORQUE AND
2 n 1955 during a raid against Shanghai
42 sm. In Shanghai, four elderly Roman
34 rrry?" R JTL6382 J1.8 ReligionK
34 s" Have Fared Since 1978. Index on
25 ectives of Communist Students. By Anita
25 f letters on the same subject between
16 ndividuals outside the PRC, including
37 who of the opposition: Yao Chiao-weng,
37 ch'u, Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan, Chi Wan-sheng,
rs, such as: Li Ching-sun, Huang Hua,
dent, and, in addition: Pai Ya-t'ian,
41 d conflicts." An cited with approval
41 ves about one hundred miles north of
16 nd Confucius "to advocate democracy
16 ncluding Chang Ka Mun (Zhang Jia-min),
16 Ka Mun (Zhang Jia-min), Chen Jinyang,
g Jia-min), Chen Jinyang, Chen Ruoxi,
24 ty and safety of the state. Earlier,
n-nan, Yen Ming-sheng, Yang Ch'ing-hai,
ulture figure is Shanghai PLA officer.
37 o, Yang Ch'ing-ch'ue, Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan,
played games. Most of them were about
ch peasants, landlords, or worse, the
6 ses" had little immediate effect. The
9 world outside their own village. As a
11 Cultural Revolution. Little did the
48 ave to break up my family? Why must a
se. His story is, however, typical of
20 gal rights and interests of women and
21 ate rights and interests of women and
49 miss, Huang Tsai-chieh, Lu Hsiu-lien,
21 ming, Huang to visit him. Her father,
22 a (second major figure in the Tibetan
37 arded head of the Taiwan Presbyterian
37 onal links. Within the sphere of the
17, 41, 16, 17, 34, 46, 46,
15 e campaign to "Criticize Lin Biao and
24 m. During the early years of the PRC,
24 s Lin Biao) came under attack. Now,
51 c Japanese. They could vote, and were
16 ESOURCES:K "Big Loophole in the Draft
17 asked: 'Which has more authority, the
17 ed on human dependence; as for the
19 a series of lectures on the new Party
26 ucate cadres to visit him. Her father,
26 inated the four big freedoms from the
33 6 (Hong Kong) notes that the new PRC
33 6 national organization must observe its
16 lations of Articles 35 and 40 of the
16 titution." Zhengming 6 081777. On the
17 nd government. "The suggestion of a
18 of China which embodies Mao Zedong's
46 s were public and pro-CCP. Dai had a
46 Liu Daren, and Lu Panzhi. -J3S
46 on. Freedom of speech and privacy of
46 alnees would be given access to legal
9 me and my friend. My very Ming look like
12 he and his friend had participated in
22 a Shanghai-bound plane were shot at."
22 Robbery: JKS 141; SCM 27N. Sabotage,
23 ors. Wei Jingsheng was convicted as a
16, 17, 23, 31, 35, 52
16 es. If in such cases the facts of the
20 ed to resolutely struggle against the
23 elapsed between the commission of the
31 w of the state, and has announced his

36 lowed not only for serious common-law
36 said that Yu-ch'uan was charged as a
32 in accordance with Article 97 of the
42 29S 082590 declared that critics are
16 p, and relinquish the baton of force.
34 d the following regulations governing
34 ust submit in advance a report to the
40 rs should have modern scientific and
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43 have intensified their activities of
13 chapter. SPEARhead 18 foreign
33 also some information about military
34 o his present post. Another unpopular
37 litical science department of Chinese
39 Continued from page 9. Like science,
41 n Official recent attitudes toward
43 ed articles were critical of Western
43 o attack our socialist ideology and
45 zhang, Qi Shi niandai 157, Feb., pp.
46 by make the following statement: 1.
47 al system, thoroughly investigate the
22 n the Tibetan Church after the exiled
13 for attack. PAPER SPRING
16 rticularly great, the ban against the
21 nfants and older men to have a higher
23 ts of people being executed or given
36 occurred 34 years ago yesterday. The
14 foreign languages. When the Chinese
41 g the baton of force. Cui Min. "Develop
32 of attack, and later abolished Xidan
45 Reflection on the history of China
46 r the establishment and perfection of
14 developed strong support for China's
15 ew Left Review (no. 122). Z
41 ng it the power to run roughshod over
21 orities. Two thousand members of the
23 o the political power of the people's
25 punishments encroach on the citizen's
32 ixhe, He Qiu and other figures of the
33 PARTIES.K In recent years, China's
33 vestigation work has been done by the
41 n intellectuals and the progress of
46 s enjoying freedom of the press and a
36 and it was announced that thereafter
38 with national policy." Long-term
31 New Evening Post, and has been under
38 m of the press. These have led to the
13 alive to the combination of political
15 h Modernization, "Democracy or a New
16 ut if "leadership of the Party" means
23 ical power of the people's democratic
4 e role and functions of the organs of
6 he unlucky ones in this category were
20 Kang Kejing spoke on the subjects of
52 vation is paid in larger patterns of
15 risoners of conscience, and not with
34 June 1982. A good account of China's
9 d people like my parents be forced to
23 or given death sentences (by crime):
18 "In terms of the basic rights and
14 -speakers in the world, and that most
9 icance are imbalances created by poor
11 have an opportunity to continue their
12 ul. On the one hand, the quality of
40 bor. The difference in cultural and
33 recruited in 1982. Most members are
19 on the voiding of a local intra-Party
33 University Library. J21.INTRA-PARTY
24 h only 8,000 moved to the US in 1981,
26 oreign schoolmates may be engaged in
43 eological corruption, destruction and
6 All this can be analyzed in terms of
21 ction of Baby Girls." GM 30DB101 J
50 n ordered expelled from the country.
51 oring Japanese nationality to 200,000,
52 ecame even more stringent, and 26
16 me have been clearly established, the
23 Fengyi "Arguments in Court Must Show
31 ealed by clear facts and conclusive
22 e" in this regard. C. NML4AB20 J05.
23 n the commission of the crime and the
26 The organization opposes torture and
37 She says that she was threatened with
6 to be hereditary. On those grounds, a
11 in high places (unlikely in a peasant
12 t she disagreed. Finally, he met the
20 XH28A2M A spokesman for the State
21 f every member of our great socialist
23 e authorities have not provided Liu's
44 ur months of first publication. 7.
48 urt. Why did they have to break up my
23 Man Wan ed. C-17, Kowloon HK. \$6/yr
23 S19 ("Sp" obsession). RESOURCES:K
37 P'ing-ting, Ch'en Chu, Shih Ming-tai,
20 Family Planning Commission has called
20 e Statistical Bureau has put the male:
21 n certain places, R SPEARhead 18
42 d to literature and art, particularly
13 he first chapter. SPEARhead 18
18 ate. The provision prohibiting
24 men were charged with colluding with
26 ence News (which carries reports from
41 rt. Red Flag 8 16A20m81. On Things
42 list system, instigate the worship of
11 and restrictions on contacts between
26 like many things is unavailable to
18 d for the eliminations of Article 34
24 00.R Malaysia Star 15F J16. SEXUAL
45 ya Ranzhang. "Carry Out the Policy of
32 racy Wall and eliminated the four big
38 AL CONCERNS OF A.I. Limitations on
39 nd other relations are matters of the
46 icles 35 and 40 of the Constitution.
46 had suffered a lot since his loss of
50 g under present conditions, 838 said
18 tant omissions and restrictions. The
13 ly a few--including Wei Jingsheng and
23 ions. BJJ22 ed also: SN26DB61 In
26 mune to such a charge. A peasant in
21 posing forced marriages. "When a young
42 th xenophobic overtones. One place by
33 azine Zhengming carried an article by
45 ber 1981 Nanfang Ribao, organ of the
47 o position to publish his articles in
44 eaders. A lengthy novel set in scenic
15 d the Li-Yi-Zhe group). Two essays by
43 ip in the Feixiang County of China's
19 scientists who had been under fire in
5 status forms. Since "class" status is
6 evolutionary nature" would tend to be
22 boats. Five men who had attempted to

crimes, but also for spreading rumor
criminal" for having put up "reaction
criminal Law of the PRC. We omit dis
criminals. "In recent years, the fol
Cui Min. "Develop Democracy and Perf
cultural activities. The ministry o
cultural departments concerned, for
cultural knowledge, be familiar wit
Cultural Revolution
cultural and ideological corruption,
culture might prove useful to China
culture commissars: Liu SPEARhead
culture figure is Shanghai PLA offi
Culture University, Professor Lu Hsi
culture and many other activities, i
culture have been a mix of liberal +
culture. Most notably, the 1 Jan. is
culture; they have corrupted the rev
DAR ZHEN CASE. Dr. Zhen, a former
DAR ZHEN CASE. Dr. Zhen was a contrib
Dai Zhen Case, and release the innoc
Dalai Lama! has visited to Tibet las
De Papiern Lente: Documenton van d
death penalty should be lifted and t
death rate than females.) People's
death sentences (by crime): Drug tra
death sentence is allowed not only +
democracy movement of 1978-81 was at
democracy and Perfect the Legal Syst
democracy Wall and eliminated the fo
democracy movement, and the responsi
democracy and the legal system. All
democratic dissidents. This was pa
Democratic China Minzhu Zhonghua: A
democratic rights. We believe that
democratic League and other "democr
democratic dictatorship as well as t
democratic rights. Moreover, such a
democratic movement? Thus, we cannot
democratic parties," though hardly +
democratic League. It was discovered
democratic politics." RESOURCES:
democratic legal system. It is, of
democracy would be given access to l
detainees. At least 14 people (and i
detention in China since last summer
detention of journalists and other w
dictatorship and economic dependency
Dictatorship," and "Twentieth Centur
dictatorship putting everything und
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dictatorship and reliance on the mas
discriminated against not only by +
discrimination and infanticide. "Th
discrimination. Prior to 1945, the
discrimination against ethnic Korean
detainees as suspected. This book fo
dissident painters. He Jingshi (p
divorce each other? Why should older
Drug trafficking: SCM 27N. Economic
duties of citizens, all the provisio
educated ones are fluent in one or t
education and inadequate transportat
education beyond middle school. Of +
Educational policies continue to fav
educational institutions (teachers,
educational level between the two di
educators and people in the arts, a
election originally won by insurgent
ELECTIONS. In January 1982 the pr
emigration policies have been libera
espionage." Some have been accus
espionage. They have illegally impo
estates." Following Ossowski and oth
ETHNIC MINORITIES. China's intelle
Ethnic Chinese who are MPR citizens
ethnic Koreans in Japan.* At the vet
ethnic Koreans and Taiwanese in Japt
evidence is absolutely reliable, the
Evidence, Just Grounds, and Restrain
evidence and that Luo admitted his +
EXECUTIONS. People have been execu
executions. BJ1982; see also: SN26
execution in all instances. (2) We
execution is still did not cooperat
family's rank in the gradational nis
family), such permission would prob
family. After a magnificent banquet,
Family Planning Commission has calle
family to boldly come out and offer
family with any explanation. A Commi
Family Encyclopedia on How to Rear C
family? Why must a child of my age h
Fan Jiang. "Stamp Out the Unhealt
Fang Dan (interview with). "Life in
Fang Ch'ing-yu, Wang To, Yang Ch'ing
female infant, Yang To, Yang Ch'ing
female new-born rate at 1087/1000,
female babies have been drowned or
films, operas and novels, we should
foreign culture might prove useful +
foreign control of religion" is seen
foreign countries, which can mean ha
foreign sources) has a restricted r
Foreign Official recent attitudes
foreign things and fawning on forei
foreigners and Chinese. As the old
foreigners.) J45 81 In Shandong Pr
on the
Freedom of expression, etc.) on the
Freedom in general. A Chinese
FREEDOM. A long and Oppos. Feudal
freedoms from the Constitution. Thus
freedom of the press. These have le
freedom of belief, just like the fac
freedom of speech and privacy of co
freedom. I asked myself: Can I do +
freedom of speech." Walden pointed
freedom-of-expression rights specifi
Fu Yuchua--already behind bars. Am
Fu Shengli (10); He Qiu "Mostly in
Fujian, Liu Dequan and Yu Changju we
Gansu was jailed as a KMT spy. COSI
girl is threatened with such misfor
Gangwan in Zhejiang. 21 riba
Gu Buqu concerning the various
Guangdong Provincial Party Committee
Guangzhou, he had to submit his arti
Guilin. Tells about a group of prog
Han Zhihsung and Wang Juntao are fr
Hebei Province was voted out of offi
Hebei's capital city of Shijiazhuang
hereditary (normally acquired from t
hereditary. On these grounds, a fam
hijack a Shanghai-bound plane with

23 enju were executed for attempting to
38 hijacked a Chinese airliner "are not
35
32 up charge. Top-level leaders, such as
44 carried the text of a speech which
he original China spring movement. On
37 in China for over a year is said to
38 other writers, such as Li Ching-sun,
44 emarks by him and others at the 1979
14 t additions to Dutch publishing about
17 "Mao Zedong said: 'What are "inherent
5 have been a few improvements in the
kers." and that the cases presents a
52 le 15 of the Universal Declaration of
blems the faculty have been having at
39 depressing situation" of academics at
52 pan, 1961), it is the position of the
24 Vatican. The priests had first been
25 At also reported that six people
36 science, i.e., that no one should be
37 of those religious leaders have been
38 andate for political office who was
49 Her father, Chou P'ing-teh, was also
14 sty International's book on political
2 counterrevolutionary: JLI68B19 309.
33 ts were loss of Party membership, not
25 scusion of the Bai Hua case. 309
20 on the subjects of discrimination and
20 Planning Commission has called fersale
20 for the New York Times 11A opposing
12, 31, 32, 39-41, 44
31 spl several years ago for an American
25 stitious Activities." NF 581B1 20m81
37 n Church is totally banned in Taiwan.
25 Press, 16.50. Wren, Christopher S. "A
17 e Constitutional Revision Committee."
23 e People's Court. Construction worker
52 the denationalization of Koreans (M.
20 and chairman
42 naries, and the true reformers (e.g.,
37 the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, Rev.
37 demonstration in the southern city of
tioned above as being involved in the
49 ear he served as director of the
suan," translated by Thomas P. Gold
35 In introducing the statement, Senator
49 l return soon, very soon. Z J. From
24 thor Catholic leader, Bishop Ignatius
22 7m19 SPEARHread 18 The Bangen
8 Tibetan Church after the exiled Dalai
8 981. \$15. Reviewed by YARGOT
25 ina has tried to clean up the Chinese
25 eople's Daily has complained that the
n launched on a campaign of
16 rectice of favoritism and bending the
17 Bing. "From 'Rule by Man' to 'Rule by
31 ssed sentence on him according to the
31 nored both Party discipline and state
35 to speak out in opposition to martial
35 tions, including the issue of martial
39 on. ...The constitution has become a
52 ee nationality and were therefore in
6 estate social system: (1) Inflexible
6 ermitted to retain legal counsel, the
5 cnnedy (democrat) and Congressman Jim
6 n "Develop Democracy and Perfect the
26 r through strengthening the socialist
er detainees will be given the right to
46 t and perfection of democracy and the
35 ril, Amnesty International designated
35 urnalists and other writers, such as:
38 Ching-sun, Huang Hua, Chang Hua-min,
38 n-ting. We also place bookstore owner
42 nization" (Zeng Guofan, Zhu Zongtang,
42 oval of the heroic but tragic life of
44 ina Spring organization. Chief Editor
8 within as we seek them. Z
9 SPEARHread 18 For us, the value of
10 tied in the countryside a year later,
12 gation the authorities demanded that
12 it still gives us food for thought. T
15 rs, aged one and 4 Mongren RB 131. A
23 The original 5-year sentence for a
15 essays are by Tan Tianrong (1957) and
15 vantage of the campaign to "criticize
24 ion with more recent villains such as
37 ition: Yao Chia-wen, Chang Chun-hung,
38 a, Chang Hua-min, Li Ch'ing-jung, and
40 plotive class elements, some remnant
40 esults from the latter arrangements.
34, 35, 41, 42
15 Wei Jingsheng (6 essays); Lu Lin (4);
15 en Ruoxi, Chen Ku-yung (Chen Guying),
15 1982; see also 5N24DBE. In Fujian,
23 peals have been launched on behalf
23 mpaign have been found and wiped out.
38 Yang Chin-hai, Ch'en Ming-chung, and
44 atural sciences." Z JRESOURCES: F
14 peared in SPEARHread, no. 14/15). The
15 cy (Chen Erjin, Xu Shuiliang, and the
15 a notables: Wei Jingsheng (6 essays);
15 Ku-yung (Chen Guying), Liu Daren, and
15 82. Articles on the Yang Chin-hai and
38 ung, Lin Yi-hsiung, Huang Hsin-chien,
15 democratic poetics." (JRESOURCES: F
15 as an apt remedy. (See Wu Xiyong and
31 K
31 ng Kong editor Luo Chengxun (penname:
42 nalysis. In a long Guangming Ribao,
47 82789 JEPFLOGUG: J In an article by
47 crent view. The former governor, Lord
26, 32, 33, 37, 46, 47
20 re investigation indicated a ratio of
21 R XH17A18 (Note: It is normal for
7 wasn't 'unprincipled sectarianism' as
17 nal Revision Committee." Jin Sikai.
8 hether they do more for the poor than
13 e too drew out the scales strongly for
21 "commentator" article opposing forced
22 breviations and symbols. The
24 air partners with total freedom. (2)
35 ington, to speak out in opposition to
36 yv questions, including the issue of
41 ed a short story (attributed to Karl
12 of the subordinate to the dominant.
22 ilipine Daily Express 191; XH21B24.
21 tative source: 5N24DBE. F066W15
35 of a covenant, who had been let
44 A how-to-do-it-yourself authoritative
21 3,400 practice traditional (minority)
44 ers in World War II. 10. Practical
18 excellent time to make good on that!"
41 subject of intellectuals. PD 10D115.
21 f Baby Girls." GM 30DB101 J ETHNIC

22 XH181 082789. Mongols are a small
51 ast, the ICJ declared, members of the
51 000. There is also a small Taiwanese
51 efore, that the members of the Korean
52 position of the ICJ that "the Korean
22 ed into may continue. R XZ30AB1m81
44 wounded in the rally; pop singers and
22 press 191; XH21B24. Mayhem: HKS 31D.
16 e have, however, been a few political
25 s." NF 581B1 20m81 Israeli, Raphael.
45 vernment, etc.). SPEARHread 18
51 rment to consider restoring Japanese
52 anse in Japan formally lost Japanese
37 e "Mormons" leaders call for calm and
44 rt art, particularly films, operas and
43 "Li Zicheng," vol. 2. An historical
44 . Book Sellers and Readers. A lengthy
25 ous during the Cultural Revolution."
35 high-handed measures may give rise to
37 reads almost as a "who's who" of the
37 ow Ossowski. To over-simplify a bit,
6 yed in terms of "estates." Ch'ing
44 equal to two previous works by author
28 Kaohsiung Incident, and, in addition:
18 progressive during the McCarthy era."
5, 9, 11, 12, 19, 21
52 . Thus, they generally cannot obtain
9 nst her fellow teenagers? Why did the
10 Capitalist Roaders... We're just poor
11 latives in high places (unlikely in a
13 rom the lives of ordinary workers and
25 "Some rules even stipulate that the
4 sweet and innocent to such a charge.
9 o determined to make me and my friend
39 ation must observe its constitution.
18 ideological beliefs and no one will be
17, 37, 48
22 encouraged. New cases of polygamy and
22 inal" for having put up "reactionary"
38 A.I.K. Limitations on freedom of the
42 "Being a medium of ideology, the
46 ments on the need for an independent
16 in countries enjoying freedom of the
46 he highly regarded head of the Taiwan
14 of tenth except from Liu Ching-shan
23 49, has been released from a Chinese
24 atholic priests have been returned to
24 tius Kung, is still believed to be in
31 nd has been sentenced to ten years in
32 ere sentenced to another ten years in
37 of conscience have been released from
45 al, has been sentenced to 12 years in
49 t two times when I had visited him in
15 national's principal concern is with
35 designated Li Pei-lin as one of three
37 ion is a form of physical torture.
37 Constitution. Freedom of speech and
46 people who had been framed or wrongly
37 his case is another involving various
16 ers NY 10521) 8 (3); Tao Lin (4);
7 s no more than another of those cadre
12 . They formed the targets of numerous
41 ainly depending on the success of the
40 t is desirable for leaders to be both
41 here to the Orientation of Being Both
34 Baihua appears have been officially
45 that the Chinese Communist Party has
18 ision prohibiting "foreign control of
37 same sex marriage?" JTL6782 J18.
37 another involving various protest
5 If the parents had been capitalists
8 d them suffered. First as they were
6, 11, 12, 21, 26, 46,
25 y of the comrades maintained that the
33 ducators and people in the arts and
37 ear was the chairman of the political
39 ONALISM, Continued from page 9. Like
44 e years ago to do work in the natural
40 mean that leaders should have modern
42 mplicated. Regarding achievements of
42 mproved working and conditions for
39 Red Flag (8) has come to the aid of
40 ll specialists must become leaders.
48 , and struggling to get away from the
51 niority should be accorded all social
35 der the Statute for the Punishment of
45, 20, 23, 24, 31, 32, 35, 36, 45, 48
24 uprisingly, Western attitudes toward
26 inease officialdom in recent years. At
23, 24, 34, 45, 22
8, 9, 10
44 Vpismment. Translation by David
46 n (2); and Zhang Jingsheng, Sun Peng,
23 0 years ago, 1982. JRESOURCES: K
37 Hsiu-lien, Chou P'ing-teh, Chen Chu,
44 used in an People's Daily article by
6 s, unassertive, reticent, careful in
25 e means employed to clean up people's
41 of intellectuals in China. A notable
42 n. issue 083084 carried the text of a
46 d 40 of the Constitution. Freedom of
50 sent conditions, 83% said "Freedom of
26 ing for the KMT-R CC211 Seven "KMT
26 at the Xigang coal mine. R 19m26
26 peasant in Gansu was jailed as a KMT
31 Agency report, Luo Chengxun became a
32 aid chat R 2624082 JRESOURCES: K
26 waters off Zhejiang and charged with
31 me: Luo Fu) was convicted in China of
52 itizenship of the ROK, he or she is a
33 R 30a82 82590; 225B28 J23. RIGHT to
36 the public, striking, or encouraging
36 ading rumors, "beguiling" the public,
16 Qin Shulin (2); and Zhang Jingsheng,
12 amp out the Unhealthy Trend of Feudal
42 reign past and carry out feudal and
11 of this sort. The first essays are by
12 , POB T, Crugers NY 10521) 8 (3);
9 Edited by Dirk Bergvelt and Charlotte
10 reports and analyses of it (by Willem
11 oup). Two essays by Han Zhihsung and
12 ang Jingsheng, Sun Peng, Shi Jianbin,
12 Sun Peng, Shi Jianbin, Wang Ifei, and
11 t liberty, with only a few--including
13 an be regarded as an apt remedy. (See
11 s" to advocate democracy (Chen Erjin,
13 tion is represented by Yu Luoke, and
3 was not that of Mao or his aides like
11 Cultural Revolution is represented by
3 Mao or his aides like Yao Wenyan and
12 (3); Tao Lin (4); Qin Shulin (2); and
12 side the PRC, including Chang Ka Mun
12 (Zhang Jia-min), Chen Jinyang, Chen R

Luo Fu

In May, Hong Kong editor Luo Chengxun (penname: Luo Fu) was convicted in China of spying for the United States. Luo had been editor of the pro-Peking New Evening Post, and has been under detention in China since last summer (if not earlier). Hong Kong reaction was incredulous, even among normally pro-Peking circles. The following is an article (slightly condensed) by Wang Yaozong translated from Xin Bao (New News). {20mB25. See also: Aw27m, NYT16m, ZM11 082789, ZM15 081811, QN S 081811, ZM 1J33.}

The former editor-in-chief of Xin Wan Bao, Mr. Luo Chengxun, has been found guilty of spying and has been sentenced to ten years in prison. The news has caused strong repercussions among overseas intellectuals. If the charges against Luo Chengxun, who was a member of the Chinese Communist Party, had been dealt with according to the Party's internal discipline, we "non-Party personages" would not have been in a position to say anything about it. However, China has passed sentence on him according to the law of the state, and has announced his crimes and prison term. This can be regarded as great progress. Being Chinese, we can also discuss the questionable points in this case according to the state law.

According to a Xinhua New Agency report, Luo Chengxun became a spy several years ago for an American intelligence agency to which he provided important secret information about China's political, diplomatic, and military affairs, and from which he received regular subsidies.

Xinhua claims that the above-mentioned crimes were revealed by clear facts and conclusive evidence and that Luo admitted his guilt without reservation, and that the court decision of the ten-year prison term plus three years' deprivation of political rights was made in accordance with Article 97 of the Criminal Law of the PRC. [We omit discussion of the provisions of that law.]

As for the "clear facts and conclusive evidence," the Chinese authorities did not present them. It is all the more preposterous that Xinhua said that Luo Chengxun pleaded guilty. How can his confession be regarded as evidence? How can Luo, who was a Party member for several decades, fail to know that the Party has a unwritten regulation granting "leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse"? Once a person is thrown into prison, it is difficult to be set free. It would be better to take one's lot in life philosophically and obediently. Luo Chengxun even gave up his right to appeal. Was this not an indication that he took his lot in life philosophically? In China, where the sense of legal rights has not taken

root, making an appeal will probably be regarded as a defiant act. If he were sentenced to another ten years in prison, he would be all-the-more wronged.

Judging from China's long-standing tradition of "putting politics in command," it is hardly imaginable that this major case did not involve political factors. Wei Jingsheng was convicted as a counterrevolutionary and sentenced to a 15-year prison term. The so-called state secret he had leaked was nothing but the revelation of the names of the commanding officers who attacked Vietnam. This information could be obtained by Vietnam at any time. Revealing a state secret was nothing but a trumped-up charge. Top-level leaders, such as Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Yao Yilin, have frequently revealed on their own initiative the names of persons to be elected state chairman and chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress. Could this not be regarded as revealing a state secret? Were there not any political factors behind the arrests of Wang Xizhe, He Qiu and other figures of the democratic movement? Thus, we cannot but take a skeptical attitude toward Luo Chengxun's conviction.

Since 1980, when the banner of the Four Persistences was raised, arrests have never stopped. While persons of the democratic campaign have been found and wiped out, Liu Shanqing, a resident of Hong Kong, has been in custody for 15 months, and his whereabouts remain unknown. Such developments have undoubtedly played an important role in thwarting and scaring the young intellectuals of Hong Kong. Indeed, ever since Liu Shanqing was taken into custody, the youths of Hong Kong have not been so bold about going north and establishing ties there. Another incident concerning a person missing in China for over a year is that of Huang Xian [Hanson Huang], an overseas intellectual. It is said that he, too, has violated the top secrets of the state. Now, Luo Chengxun has been sentenced on the same grounds.

This series of custody actions, which includes people from the democratic campaign at home, Party members, and people who went to mainland China from abroad and from Hong Kong, has evidently played a political role. The year 1979 was probably the time in which socialism was more open than at any time since the founding of the People's Republic. Over 100 civilian magazines appeared and new political organizations were beginning to take shape.

The Chinese Communist Party found these "new-born things" a great threat to them. They made Wei Jingsheng the first target of attack, and later abolished Xidan Democracy Wall and eliminated the four big freedoms from the Constitution. Thus, the Party's loss of control of Chinese society has gradually become reality. When Xinhua said that Luo Chengxun had become a US spy a few years before, they probably traced it back to that period, which was also one of good Sino-American relations. In a way, Luo Chengxun's can be said to be a sacrifice to the violent change in Chinese foreign policy. *

20. NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES.

In recent years, China's "democratic parties," though hardly free of Communist control, have sprung to life for the first time since the 1956-57 thaw. For example, the China Association for Promoting Democracy has reached record levels in terms of numbers of both members and local organizations. There are 22 new local organizations, and 2,600 new members were recruited in 1982. Most members are educators and people in the arts and sciences. XH19MB23

RESOURCE:

Communist China's Bourgeois-Democratic Parties. 1960. Unpublished master's essay by James D. Seymour, available from Columbia University Library.

21. INTRA-PARTY ELECTIONS.

In January 1982 the pro-Deng leadership in the Feixiang County of China's Hebei Province was voted out of office, and replaced by apparent leftists. (They are not so described in the Chinese press, but as "factionalists," "careerists," "people who had made mistakes during the Cultural Revolution," etc.) The election was subsequently voided by the Party authorities, who explained that the Party elections had been "disrupted" by "a small group of people." An "anti-organization group" had "plotted secretly, formed cliques and forced delegates to mark the election ballots.... They ignored both Party discipline and state law in their struggle against the Party and the people to grasp power. This shows how they 'have only self-interest and ambition and lack dedication to the Party.' They really must be subjected to severe punishment." (So far as is known, the punishments were loss of Party membership, not imprisonment.) Now the "hornets' nest" had been cleaned out, and "this source of unrest has been exposed." The provincial newspaper condemned "the narrow localistic concept of Feixiang people vs. outsiders." It was hinted that all levels of the Party should take a warning from this experience. 30a82 082590; 22SB28

23. RIGHT TO STRIKE.

An article by I Ding in Qishi Niandai 6 (Hong Kong) notes that the new PRC constitution is a reflection of the political outlook of those in power. "The meaningless provisions on democratic rights can be manipulated by either soft or hard tactics, but when the workers really exercise the right to strike, social contradictions near the breaking point." The deletion of the right to strike "is the outcome of the Solidarity movement in Poland; China's bureaucrats are sealing off the workers' political struggles in advance." 081777

The Hong Kong magazine Zhengming carried an article by Gu Bugu concerning various writers in China, including Ba Jin. There is also some information about military culture commissars: Liu

Baiyu (head of the PLA Propaganda Affairs Department) is said to be unpopular with Chinese writers because of his criticisms of Bai Hua. It is said that the Party has determined that this type of responsibility will not again be entrusted to Liu. However, Liu was clinging to his present post. Another unpopular cultural figure is Shanghai PLA officer Chen Yi. D 082768

For his part, Bai Hua appears to have been largely rehabilitated. BR7F

Improved working conditions for scientists and technical personnel are urged. Those from other provinces "are not to be restricted by the authorities." PD14D 082789

Writers in Zhejiang are to receive royalties. In the past, recognized "professional" Chinese writers have been paid regular wages by the writers' associations, regardless of output. "Writers not registered as professionals are also members of the associations, but receive no wages from it, being paid instead at their regular work places. It is difficult to become a professional because of limits placed on the number allowed to register." Now there will be no such limits. Eventually, all writers will receive royalties, and no other compensation for being writers. XH15I 082789

Culture Controls

The Hong Kong magazine Ming Pao reports that Peking has issued the following regulations governing cultural activities. The Ministry of Culture is said to have instituted these rules to prevent commercialization, profiteering, and vulgarity.

1. Generally speaking, no individual is permitted to organize performances in his own capacity.

2. Before a non-producer unit organizes a professional theatrical body to give a performance, it must submit in advance a report to the cultural departments concerned, for approval and assistance.

3. In inviting actors to give a performance, approval by units to which the actors belong is needed. No actor can make private arrangements.

4. The program for performances must be examined and approved by the theatrical body to which the actors belong and by the sponsor unit.

5. A sponsor unit must ensure civilized performances and be responsible to the audiences. 7mB11

RESOURCES:

Robin Munro. "Unofficial Art in China: How Artists Like the 'Stars' Have Fared Since 1978." Index on Censorship, June 1982. A good account of China's dissident painters.

He Jingzhi (deputy head of the CPC Propaganda Dept.). Statement opposing "ultra-democracy, individualism and statements running counter to Marxism" in art and literature. Summarized: XH14NB16.

Hsuan Mo. "Peiping's [Peking's] Current Policy Toward Literature and Art." *Issues & Studies* (Taipei), June 82 18:6. "Of course, the writers and artists are not powerful enough to deter political intrusion into the arts. Nevertheless...the Chinese Communist regime is now in a crisis of faith, trust and confidence, and recognizes that high-handed measures may give rise to opposition by the masses that could develop beyond control."

Taiwan

09. IMPRISONMENT.

In April, Amnesty International designated Li Pei-lin as one of three "prisoners of the month." (The other two are a South African and a Vietnamese.) Mr. Li, a former bookshop owner, was convicted in 1976 under the Statute for the Punishment of Sedition. A military court found that he had possessed and distributed of books on political theory, and in so doing he had "used printed matter to make propaganda for the Chinese communists." The books in question are said to have been Japanese-language works, a limited number of which had been ordered by the KMT. Li apparently ordered extra copies and sold them to unauthorized readers. Seven others were sentenced for terms ranging from 3 to 15 years.

AI also reported that six people imprisoned since the early 1950s on political grounds were released late this winter. The release of a seventh, who had been let out on medical grounds in 1982, was formalized. (AI Newsletter, A)

See also: T'ai-tu chi-k'an (Independent Taiwan Quarterly), 4. Winter 1982. Articles on the Yang Chin-hai and Lu Hsiu-yi cases, and other subjects. [POB 503, Kearny NJ 07032 USA.]

AI Statement

On May 20, various Congressional leaders including Senator Edward Kennedy (Democrat) and Congressman Jim Leach (Republican) held a press conference in Washington, to speak out in opposition to martial law in Taiwan. Amnesty International was represented at the press conference by James D. Seymour. The following is the text of Seymour's statement, as it appeared in the Congressional Record (27 May). In introducing the statement, Sen. Kennedy said: "In view of Dr. Seymour's long experience in this area, I believe the Congress should study his findings very seriously."

Although there have been a few improvements in the human rights situation on Taiwan in recent years, the government's human rights record continues to fall short of international standards as established in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966).

Amnesty International's concerns may be grouped into two categories: (1) The organization opposes torture and execution in all instances. (2) We believe that there should be no prisoners of conscience, i.e., that no one should be imprisoned because of his or her beliefs. The organization does not take positions on legislative questions, including the issue of martial law. Nonetheless, we note that under the terms of the martial law (§11) the military authorities may "stop assembly, association, demonstration and petition...if such are deemed prejudicial to military affairs," and that often the way such phenomena are prevented is by imprisoning the would-be participants.

TORTURE AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Executions are sanctioned by many Republic of China (ROC) laws, including the State of Siege, the declaration of which occurred 34 years ago yesterday. The death sentence is allowed not only for serious common-law crimes, but also for spreading rumors, "beguiling" the public, striking, or encouraging strikes. The death sentence is mandatory in the case of "rebels." This category includes people who participate "in an organization or meeting for the purpose of rebellion," and making of "propaganda beneficial to the rebels by written word, books or speeches." However, in recent years capital punishment has not been carried out in such cases, even though it is not discretionary. There have, however, been a few political murders under circumstances which give rise to suspicions of governmental involvement. Also, greater emphasis has been given to executing common-law criminals.*

Though not sanctioned by law or announced policy, torture has been a problem. There are many well-documented cases of individuals being physically and psychologically abused. People are held incommunicado for periods of as long as four months, during which period those holding the prisoners appear to act with impunity.

Last year a man died during questioning in connection with a bank robbery. It turned out that another man had committed the crime. There appears to have been some soul-searching among the authorities, and it was announced that thereafter detainees would be given access to legal counsel. If this provision were to be fully implemented, it would go a long way toward curbing abuses. However, it has come to Amnesty International's attention that the new provision applies only to civil cases, and not to martial-law cases. Unfortunately, it is precisely those arrested under martial law who have been most likely to be tortured. Even when such an inmate is permitted to retain legal counsel, the lawyer must be someone acceptable to the military authorities.

* For background, see The Death Penalty: Amnesty International Report (1979), especially pp. 100-102. Available from AI/USA, 304 West 58 St., New York NY 10019.

Because the abuses occur in secret, it is difficult to document current instances. The most prominent figure to be arrested this year was the chairman of the political science department of Chinese Culture University, Professor Lü Hsiu-yi. He was held incommunicado for approximately six weeks, at the end of which he is said to have "repented." We do not know the details of his treatment, but a Japanese woman arrested in the same case (and subsequently deported) claims that she was surrounded by up to 40 people and questioned "ferociously" for 48 hours non-stop, during which period she was required to stand. She says that she was threatened with execution if she did not cooperate. Such treatment, if confirmed, could be considered psychological torture. Indeed, sleep-deprivation is a form of physical torture.

Prisoners of conscience. Political arrests continue at a rate sufficient to discourage most from participating in the political process. Few prisoners of conscience have been released from prison. However, in recent years the number of new arrests is much lower than previously.

The best-known Taiwanese political prisoners are those arrested in connection with a 1979 human rights demonstration in the southern city of Kaohsiung. This event grew out of a magazine called "Formosa." The magazine itself was almost a quasi-political party (actual opposition parties being banned). After stalling for a long time, at the last minute the authorities granted permission for the rally. Nonetheless, police blocked the way. Demonstrators broke through the police lines and reached the approved cite. Anti-riot vehicles then invaded the crowd. Despite the "Formosa" leaders call for calm and non-violence, a riot erupted. A few policemen, and an unknown number of demonstrators, were injured.

In the wake of these unfortunate developments a large number of the government's critics were arrested. A list of their names reads almost as a "who's who" of the opposition: Yao Chia-wen, Chang Chun-hung, Lin Yi-hsiung, Huang Hsin-chieh, Lu Hsiu-lien, Chou P'ing-teh, Ch'en Chü, Shih Ming-teh, Fang Cheng-yu, Wang T'o, Yang Ch'ing-ch'ü, Ts'ai Yu-ch'uan, Chi Wan-sheng, Chang Ch'un-nan, and about 30 others. Most remain in prison.

Indirectly related to this case is another involving various Protestant religious leaders, including the highly-regarded head of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church, Rev. Kao Chun-ming. They were accused of providing refuge for one of the participants in the Kaohsiung human rights demonstration. A number of these religious leaders have been imprisoned. Rev. Kao is currently serving a seven-year term.

Most Protestant denominations have been under considerable pressure from the government. The authorities have been suspicious both of those whose ideas of the "social gospel" give rise to active humanitarian concerns, and of the more evangelical sects. The Unification Church is totally banned in Taiwan. Jehovah's Witnesses are sometimes imprisoned because of their objection to military service.

SPECIAL CONCERNS OF A.I.

Limitations on freedom of the press. These have led to the detention of journalists and other writers, such as: Li Ching-sun, Huang Hua, Chang Hua-min, Li Ch'ing-jung, and Lin Chen-ting. We also place bookstore owner Li Pei-lin in this category.

Limitations on freedom of political association and speech. Examples of people arrested because of the political views they have expressed are those mentioned above as being involved in the Kaohsiung Incident, and, in addition: Pai Ya-ts'an, Chang Chun-nan, Yen Ming-sheng, Yang Chin-hai, Ch'en Ming-chung, and Liu Feng-sung. (The last named was a candidate for political office who was imprisoned because the views he had expressed during the campaign were "not in accord with national policy.")

Long-term detainees. At least 14 people (and in all likelihood more) have been imprisoned since around 1950 for political reasons. Although not all the facts of these ancient cases are clear, we consider it inhumane for the authorities to continue to incarcerate these men. Some were only boys when they committed their alleged indiscretions. Many are now old and in poor health. Some have deteriorated mentally. We applaud the government's action of releasing nine such people some months ago. There is no conceivable justification for failing to release the others. ✕

KMT Double Talk

Taiwan's Kuomintang government is claiming that the Chinese who hijacked a PRC airliner to Seoul "are not hijackers," and that the case presents a "human rights test" for Seoul. Foreign Ministry spokesman Wang Chao-yuan insisted that the six be allowed to proceed to Taiwan, and warned that if they were not, "the long-term friendship" between the ROC and South Korea could be "damaged."

The basis for the claim that the hijackers were not hijackers is the fact that the people had not asked for money as ransom, and had not threatened the lives of the 96 passengers.

Actually, they shot a pilot in the leg, thus endangering the lives of all aboard. Two others were also wounded. Wang justified the carnage on grounds that the man was "forced" to shoot the pilot. "The ROC government condemns the act of hijacking, as well as killing, blackmail, using passengers as hostages or asking for ransom. None of these acts had happened in this incident." FCW 29m

But when it comes to managing news about hijackings, no one takes a back seat to Peking. See Xin WB 1S 081811.

Constitutionalism (cont'd from col. 18)

Like science, culture and many other activities, it has extensive international links. Within the sphere of the church, the relation of superior and subordinate and other relations are matters of the freedom of belief, just like the fact that a country which joins a certain international organization must observe its constitution.

Peng Weni. "On the Revised Constitution." QN 7 081777. In the West, constitutions generally restrict the power of government and safeguard the rights of every citizen. In China, "the concept that the people should retain the powers not specified in the constitution has never occurred to those drafting the constitution. ...The constitution has become a law to restrict the people's rights and safeguard the powers of the government and the leaders.

"Safeguarding the Constitution's Dignity, Ensuring Its Enforcement." HQ 24 16D 082883.

Wang Guiwu. "All Citizens Are Equal Before the Law." PD 6a82 081700.

Intellectuals

China's media have been addressing the problems of oppressed intellectuals. People's Daily has published articles by Wu Xinghua, et al., on the problems the faculty have been having at Hunan University. One is an especially rich source on the problems of academia. Earlier, PD had published a letter by two professors about the "depressing situation" of academics at Hunan University. For two months, the University Party Committee stalled. Although it is still "not certain whether the problems of the university can be fundamentally solved," the publication of that letter has been like "a thunderstorm in spring." Some of the investigation has been done by the Democratic League. It was discovered that the fruits of some academics' work had been misappropriated. Furthermore, "a great number of unjust, false, and wrong cases" were not thoroughly redressed. PD6MB17, 6mB11

Similarly, Red Flag (#8) has come to the aid of scientists who had been under fire in Hebei's capital city of Shijiazhuang. Apparently earthquake reporting had become a hot political issue, with one scientist declaring that officials had withheld his forecast. His charge earned him the label of "resisting the leadership." But Zheng Shi, writing in the Party journal, says that these officials are reckless leftists. "There indeed exist some cadres who know nothing about

the professions they are supposed to oversee; they refuse to study hard to become experts, and hence exercise poor leadership." 16A811m

When "reds" with expertise cannot be found for a leadership position, should it go to an "expert"? This question is discussed in an People's Daily article by Shu Lin {25A828}. Author notes that the idea of putting experts in leadership positions once was considered "anti-Party," but this view was wrong. While it is desirable for leaders to be both red and expert, "we do not mean that all leading cadres must become specialists and all specialists must become leaders." Scientists in the West, it is noted, are not usually political leaders. "By expert leadership we mean that leaders should have modern scientific and cultural knowledge, be familiar with vocational work in the departments they are in charge of, and have the ability to lead."

Should intellectuals be spread over society, or be allowed instead to exist in concentrations (e.g. in institutes)? It used to be argued that revisionism results from the latter arrangements. Lin Fang, writing in various papers, {41B5} argues that the Cultural Revolution proved how harmful such an idea is. In the future, in the process of modernization, we will have brain trusts in all fields.

An article by Xing Benshi in Gongren Ribao {29MB15A} argues that knowledge means understanding--whether derived indirectly from books or directly from experience. "Some comrades still, to a great extent, look down on indirect experience and book knowledge; this is the cause of their contempt for intellectuals.... Various arguments, such as 'theory of knowledge is useless,' 'the more you read the sillier you become,' 'intellectuals are the most ignorant,' and 'intellectuals are the stinking ninth category,' have left an extremely deep impression on people's minds.

"Book knowledge is the crystallization of human experience gained on the basis of practice over thousands of years.... If we don't want to lag behind, we should not be satisfied with our very limited direct experience, but should draw support from indirect experience and the achievements of other people's experience." Ideally, people should be both mental and manual workers. In practice, however, there usually has to be a division of labor. "The difference in cultural and educational level between the two different kinds of workers, which is caused by irrational divisions of mental and manual labor, cannot be completely eliminated in a short time.... Mental workers will occupy a dominant position in terms of cultural and intellectual level for a considerable time to come," leftists views to the contrary notwithstanding.

But the more authoritative Red Flag continues to denigrate book-learning. The January issue carried a short story (attributed to Karl Marx) which might be interpreted as anti-intellectual. A philosopher chides a boatman for not having studied history or mathematics. When the boat capsizes, the boatman chides the philosopher for his inability to swim. 11 083084

People in Hong Kong have become increasingly concerned about the plight of intellectuals in China. A notable speech was made on the subject by Wen Hui, editor of Zhengming {D 082756}. The welfare of the intellectuals and the contribution they will be able to make to the nation, he argued, depend on subjective and objective factors. "Subjective factors: Mainly depending on the presence or absence of any result in the search for truth, of any rise in the ideological plane and of any enhancement of the sense of social responsibility. Objective factors: Mainly depending on the success of the rectification movement in the CP, the fulfillment of the policy on intellectuals and the progress of democratic politics."

Resources:

Lu Dingyi, interviewed on subject of intellectuals. PD 10D815.

Miao Zuobin, "Adhere to the Orientation of Beijing Both Red and Expert. Red Flag 8 16A820m81

On Things Foreign

Official recent attitudes toward culture have been a mix of liberal and illiberal. The 16 Jan. issue of Red Flag {16I 083140} carried an article by An Liangwen criticizing those who "maintain that authors should not touch on or reflect on the sharp contradictions and conflicts." It cited with approval Chang Qie's "The Reformers," in which an old-line local first secretary obstructs reform. Such literature should not be dismissed as liberal and bourgeois.

Beijing's Wen Yi Bao carried an article which urged a more objective attitude toward Western culture. "In our country, some people are for, and some are against, modernistic literature and art.... We have usually called Western modernist literature and art decadent and declining. Of course, this is correct. However, to convince people, it is necessary to make some analysis. The three characteristics of Western modernistic literature and art--obscurity, peculiarity and eroticism--are actually lively reflections of modern social life in most parts of the West." Where does such culture come from? "They have their origin in the source of life. To put it

more exactly, they come from social material life and reflect the inner spirit of the sum total of the relations concerning the material life." 7N82590.

But the Party journal Red Flag has published articles more critical of Western culture. Most notably, the 1 Jan. issue {083084} carried the text of a speech which Hu Yaobang made in April 1982. "With regard to literature and art, particularly films, operas and novels, we should avoid indiscriminate and excessive learning from the skill and art of the West. We should not completely and uncritically accept Western artistic viewpoints. To deal with those who wantonly and brazenly spread bourgeois poison, the first step is to criticize them. If they turn a deaf ear to our criticism, we should transfer them to other posts. If they refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions, or persist in their mistakes, the third step we should take is to take disciplinary measures against them. Those who deliberately spread ideological poison, slander our socialist system, instigate the worship of foreign things, fawn on foreign powers and carry out feudal and superstitious activities should be condemned by public opinion and society."

Hu also called for the media to be more critical of Western civilization. "With respect to reports from the capitalist world, our media should be very serious and careful and should adopt an attitude of analysis and criticism. We should never...engage in 'objective reporting.' Being a [medium of (?)] ideology, the press cannot be without a class nature. Even in the future, when class is eliminated throughout the world, there will still be right and wrong; so certainly there is now, when class struggle everywhere is still very acute and complicated. Regarding achievements of scientific research, advanced technology and rational methods of management in the capitalist world, we may report them and advocate learning from them, but we should absorb, digest or develop them in light of the actual conditions here. As to its social system, its decadent ideological viewpoints and all things diametrically opposed to socialism, we should never eulogize them."

As is often the case in China, such issues have been debated through the medium of historical analysis. In a long Guangming Ribao piece, Luo Yaojiu and Zheng Jianshun argue that, with regard to the Nineteenth Century, a distinction must be made between the "advocates of Westernization" (Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, Li Hongzhang), who were reactionaries, and the true reformers (e.g., Kang Youwei). 13A84m

The provincial press has carried some strong anti-rights polemics, often with xenophobic overtones. One piece by Gong Yanwen in Zhejiang

ribao {295 082590} declared that critics are criminals. "In recent years the forces of international capitalism as well as certain forces hostile to our socialist endeavors have used the opportunities provided by our easing of restrictions against outside contacts and have intensified their activities of cultural and ideological corruption, destruction and espionage. They have illegally imported many corrupt books and pictures, reactionary and lascivious recordings and video tapes as well as idealist propaganda to attack our socialist ideology and culture; they have corrupted the revolutionary will of our people; they have poisoned and weakened the life experiences of the young generation and have made vain attempts to change their character.

"Various hostile elements collaborate with them to smuggle and peddle books and products which appeal to base passions and corrupt our youth.... Among these hostile elements there are some remnant exploitive class elements, some remnant Lin Biao and 'gang of four' elements and some degenerate elements who were dragged down by capitalist money. Although they occupy a minuscule portion of society, they still have considerable power and are dangerous.... There must be full utilization of the role and functions of the organs of dictatorship and reliance on the masses to carry out legal punishment of criminal elements."

Reading Fare in China

The following is reprinted from the December issue of China Talk (2 Man Wan Rd., C-17, Kowloon, Hong Kong).

One of our China Talk readers recently wrote asking "What kinds of books do people in China read?" After doing some research into the subject, we've discovered a "Best Sellers List for 1981." According to our sources, 1981's best sellers sold from 180,000 to 7.5 million copies each. Here's the list:

1. The Way to Success.
2. Selected Works of Zhou Enlai, vol. 1.
3. 365 Nights, vols 1, 2. A collection of children's stories.
4. "Li Zicheng," vol. 2. An historical novel of the heroic but tragic life of Li Zicheng, leader of a peasant uprising in the later years of the Ming Dynasty.
5. Famous Sayings of Eminent Persons. A collection of sayings of Chinese and non-Chinese on such subjects as ideals, belief, truth, morality, knowledge, patriotism, honor and romantic love. A big hit with many Chinese youth.

6. 170 Examples for Examining and Repairing B/W TV Sets. Illustrated and with concise explanations, this book was reprinted twice within four months of first publication.

7. Family Encyclopedia on How to Rear Children, vols. 1, 2.

8. Best Four-line Poems of the Tang Dynasty. The 788 poems are well-known in Chinese history; explanatory notes are included.

9. Beautiful Flowers Behind Dark Willows. A sequel to two previous works by author Ouyang Shan. How two people were tempered for revolution through their fierce struggles against Japanese invaders in World War II.

10. Practical Medicine, vols 1, 2. A how-to-do-it-yourself authoritative medical book.

11. Book Sellers and Readers. A lengthy novel set in scenic Guilin. Tells about a group of progressive book shop clerks and youthful readers who steeled themselves in pre-liberation armed-struggle. The clerks used the medium of the printed page to spread and keep revolutionary fervor alive in the hopes of the youthful readers.

China Spring Update

There has been established a Hong Kong office of the North-America-based China Spring organization. Chief Editor Li Lin stated that the office would liaise with other democratic forces in the colony, and organize discussions on China and also on the future of Hong Kong.

Responding to the charge that China Spring is financed by the U.S government or by the Chinese Nationalists, Li said that it had no connection with either. "We don't accept donations except from intellectuals." Li criticized both the Peking and Taipei regimes as undemocratic and rights-denying. "You would not be able to advocate communism in Taiwan and you would not dare to talk about the three people's principles on the mainland."

He acknowledged that the name "Li Lin" is a pseudonym, but declined to reveal his original name. "I can only tell you that I used to be employed by a research institute in China, and I went to the United States three years ago to do work in the natural sciences." ✕

Resources:

Liu Lezhun and Zhang Shuhui. Letter to the editor. Zhengming 65 {1M 083226}. Raises questions about the purpose of the China Spring movement (possible connections with the Taiwan or U.S. government, etc.).

Nathan, Andrew. "Shivering Expatriate Works Toward a China Spring." Los Angeles Times, 18 Jan. American scholar on Wang Bingzhang.

Wang Jingdi (penname for Wang Bingzhang). "From 'Beijing Spring' to 'China Spring'" (in Chinese). BX #41-42 (1, 16 Feb.). Reflections on the history of China's democracy movement, and the responsibility of overseas Chinese today.

Yu Lei. "China Spring: Some Impressions" (in Chinese). Zhengming 44 (1 Feb.).

Zhongguo zhi chun 2 (May 1983). Magazine defended against criticisms which have been made. The lessons of "Prague Spring." Wang Min on the weaknesses of the original China spring movement. On Hu Yaobang's promise of political stability. The NPC. Zhong Bao criticized as PRC mouthpiece. Other articles. [POB 243, New York 10185. \$3.]

---. No 3. Thirty-eight articles, mostly by Chinese abroad, but a few pieces from China and Taiwan. One article comments on the need for an independent press. Another discusses the problems of Shanghai youth sent to Xinjiang.

See also: Lengthy interview of China Spring's Wang Bingzhang, Qishi niandai 157, Feb.

The Dai Zhen Case

Dai Zhen, a former Canton official, has been sentenced to 12 years in prison for allegedly "stealing large quantities of state secrets and selling them" to Zhengming, the Hong Kong magazine. It is claimed that Dai received upwards of HK\$10,000. The magazine itself (whose version of events appears below) maintains that the so-called secrets contained "facts known to most people in China." Zhengming is pro-Communist but critical of the undemocratic nature of Chinese politics. The magazine has been banned from circulation in China since 1981.

It is a good thing that the CPC has rehabilitated many people who had been wrongly prosecuted. But many Party cadres have created new frame-ups. One of these is the Dai Zhen case.

On 5 September 1981, Nanfang Ribao revealed that Dai Zhen, deputy director of the provincial Party office of united front work, had been arrested. NR alleged that between April and July of that year, Dai "had provided many top Party and state secrets to a Hong Kong magazine, and had taken bribes, including a refrigerator, some other articles and several thousand Hong Kong dollars." On 23 December 1982 NR carried another report, this time to the effect that Dai had been given a 12-year prison sentence. The

charge against him: he "had, taking advantage of his power and position, stolen many top secrets of the Party and State, and sold them to Wen Hui, editor of the Hong Kong monthly Zhengming for HK\$10,000 and some goods." We hereby make the following statement:

1. Dai Zhen was a contributing editor of this magazine [Zhengming]. In our opinion, his commentary, articles on current affairs and attached materials were not confidential at all. His articles were mainly analyses of current affairs, criticism of prevalent defects, suggestions for reform and appeals for the establishment and perfection of democracy and the legal system. All the documents were public and pro-CCP. Dai had a constitutional right to provide this magazine with such articles and materials.

2. This magazine paid Dai HK\$250 a month. (Dongxiang, a sister magazine or ours, also paid Dai \$250 for articles.) According to the principle of "gaining rewards according to one's work," Dai had the absolute right to these fees.

3. This magazine never gave Dai a refrigerator, nor did he request that we buy one for him. Dai occasionally asked us to buy him various daily necessities, but all money required was deducted from his fee.

4. The Chinese authorities have not strictly observed the stipulations of §§35 and 40 of the Constitution. Freedom of speech and privacy of correspondence could not be ensured and articles submitted to us from mainland China have been checked. Therefore, we could not correspond with Dai the way it is normally done in countries enjoying freedom of the press and a democratic legal system. It is, of course, not we or Dai who should be blamed in this respect.

5. Reports and comments carried in Nanfang Ribao and Yangcheng Wanbao contain much that does not correspond with the facts or is self-contradictory. We are not going to cite each one, but we reserve the right to refute them.

6. Yangcheng alleged that the editor of this magazine "published one article after another to vilify the 'four adherences.'" which explains why some big shots of the CCP hate this magazine bitterly. It was proper and normal theoretical discussion that our editor wrote articles to comment on the "four adherences." If some big shots really uphold the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," they may rebut us in an academic way, but they abuse their power when they resort to making third parties suffer.

7. Yangcheng also alleges that we "had published some articles which distorted the policies of the Party and launched personal attacks on the leading comrades of the Party and state." We hold that the criticisms of CCP policies and of Chinese leaders in some articles were

not "distortion" and "personal attack." As this magazine is an open and non-official publication, promoting the cause of the nation and people is our natural duty; such criticism and exposés are thus selectively carried. If relevant departments of the Party find any mistakes, we would welcome their criticism and corrections... But it absolutely will not do to take retaliatory measures.

We believe that it is much better to convince others by reasoning than to make others suffer by taking advantage of one's power. Abusing one's power and making others suffer cannot do victims the slightest harm, but it seriously harms the image of the Party.

We appeal to relevant departments of the Party to uphold the legal system, thoroughly investigate the Dai Zhen Case, and release the innocent Mr. Dai. We appeal to those intelligent persons in leadership of the Party to call a halt to the wanton attacks and insults on Zhengming and its editor.

EPILOGUE:

In an article by Luo Ping in the same issue of Zhengming, a "Hong Kong personage" is quoted as saying the following:

Dai Zhen is described as a veteran cadre who made contributions to the Chinese Communist Party. Furthermore, he is a reformer who wholeheartedly supports the line of the Third Plenum.... So far as I know, Dai Zhen divulged no state secrets, only his personal secrets. He was discontented with bureaucratism and stood for democracy in politics. This had been his "personal secret." As he was in no position to publish his articles in Guangzhou, he had to submit his articles to Zhengming, Dongxiang, and other magazines to divulge his personal secret.... He has been framed.

{From ZM 63 II 082789. See also: Zhongguo Xinwen. D 082897}

Hong Kong

As 1997 moves inexorably closer, the "Hong Kong Question" takes on increased urgency. It has appeared that the colony's future will be decided by outsiders--in Beijing, and (to a lesser extent) in London. The official line of all the governments concerned (and the American government as well) is that no one need worry. However, some retired Hong Kong officials have held a different view. The former governor, Lord MacLehose, for example, has urged the people to make their views known.

Even more outspoken was the former director of home affairs, John Walden, who in Decem-

ber declared that the people of Hong Kong "must intervene now, and they must speak up for the colony's future." Speaking to a group called Meeting Point, Walden called for the formation of an unofficial coalition. "The Hong Kong community should clearly <CONT'D COL. 50>

My Dad

The following is a translation of an article by the 16-year-old daughter of the well-known Taiwanese writer Yang Ch'ing-ch'u. Yang was born in 1940. In 1978 he was a candidate for Taiwan's Legislative Yuan, and the next year he served as director of the Kaohsiung Office of the now-banned Formosa Magazine. After the Kaohsiung Incident he was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment.

Translation by David Shaw.

My father was arrested on a chilly December morning in 1979 while I was sound asleep. On that unforgettable morning, while I was still half asleep, I heard my mother screaming downstairs. Something horrible must have happened, I thought. Rushing down, I was stunned by what I saw. Mother was crying, screaming, and struggling to get away from the [security] persons who had a tight grip on her. I was shocked. Where was my father? Where was Father? I did not know what to do. I was overcome by fear. I kept asking myself: "Will I ever see my father again?" Bursting into tears, I threw myself into my mother's arms.

I was then thirteen. I had never been so deeply hurt. Why did they have to break up my family? Why must a child of my age have to suffer such torment?

After that, I was the moodiest student in my school. I tried hard to ignore what people said about my father. However, every day the media reported the case in a most exaggerated way. Everywhere there were posters attacking the people arrested in connection with the Human Rights Day Rally; school administrators and teachers were raising money from students for the policemen and soldiers who were wounded in the rally; pop singers and movie stars went in groups to pay their condolences to the wounded security people, kissing them and praising them for their bravery. Yet, nobody cared about us. How I hated our TV set and radio. These lifeless objects almost took my life away. For a long period I did not like going out, especially to

school. I even felt like quitting school. My life was like a damaged ship on a stormy sea.

During those miserable days I was lucky to have a few teachers and classmates who came to comfort me. I decided to change my philosophy of life. I had to face reality; to shape up and become a new person. Time would cure my wounded heart, or so I hoped.

The day I passed the entrance examination to the Tainan Girls' Senior High School happened to be my father's birthday. To Father, the news of being accepted to the best school in Tainan would be the finest birthday gift.

That day I went with a friend of mine, Miss Chou, to visit him. Her father, Chou P'ing-teh, was also imprisoned in the same case as my father's. It took us ten hours round-trip by train to see our fathers. Miss Chou and I had so much in common and so much to say to each other. Most important, we were both optimistic about the future, even though the shadows of sorrows and fears constantly occupied our minds.

I was so happy to see Father. The moment I saw him I had a strong urge to hug him or at least to hold his hands. Unfortunately, a plate of glass separated us into two different worlds. I remember the first two times when I had visited him in prison; then I had wept. I was much better controlled this time. I did not cry so much. But I had so many things to say to him I didn't know where to begin!

I could see that he had suffered a lot since his loss of freedom. I asked myself: Can I do anything to free him? Is there any way he can spend the Lunar New Year with us? I felt like breaking the glass and rescuing him.

I know how much my father is longing for freedom. I also know how much he cares about our society. For love of democracy and concern for society, he has had to sacrifice his own freedom. The wounds in our hearts are too deep to heal. Oh, God in heaven: Please bless my father and all his fellow inmates! I promise to forgive [those responsible] for what they have done to my father, if only they will free him.

It's been three long years since Father was imprisoned. Night and day I long for his return. I cling to the hope that he will return soon, very soon. ✕

From Kuan-huai (Care) 10, Oct. 1982.

For Yang Ch'ing-ch'u's major works, see the bilingual "Selected Stories of Yang Ch'in-ch'u / Yang Ch'ing-ch'u hsiao-shuo hsuan," transl. by Thomas B. Gold (Kaohsiung: Tun-li Publishing Co, 1978). For a profile on Yang see Sh 4/5, p. 11. For a transcript of the remarks by him and others at the 1979 Human Rights demonstration in Kaohsiung, see Sh 9.

Hong Kong (cont'd from col. 48)

understand the limitations of the Hong Kong establishment in safeguarding the interests of the Hong Kong community when under pressure." He questioned whether Governor Edward Youdi could see that the colony's preferences were respected unless there was active public support.

As for what those preferences are, a poll published in the Far Eastern Economic Review (21a) indicated that 95% of the people prefer the status quo. Two-thirds found the idea of Chinese sovereignty with British administration "acceptable." As for what was seen as desirable about Hong Kong under present conditions, 83% said "freedom of speech."

Walden pointed out that recent exhortations not to worry came from people in safe positions--they have British passports and money enough to live abroad. Also, senior civil servants have the right to British residence, though ordinary Hong Kong citizens do not. "Whether many other Hong Kong stayers are as conscious of what is at stake as the senior members of the Hong Kong civil service, and whether they can appreciate the need to take concerted action, I cannot say." But prudent people should not "accept the official assurances so far given by the Chinese, British and Hong Kong governments as a satisfactory basis on which to permit government officials to negotiate arrangements on his behalf."

Walden lamented that "the very last thing the Hong Kong Government will want is a strong local lobby demanding to have its views taken into account in the current negotiations, or worse, insisting that it should be consulted before the arrangements agreed with to Chinese government are formally ratified." Yet, he insisted, the public should indeed demand these. SCM20DB

Mongolia

After refusing government orders to move from Ulan Bator north to state farms in the Gobi desert, many of Mongolia's 8,000-10,000 Chinese citizens have been ordered expelled from the country. Although often accused of being social parasites, most had actually held jobs in the construction industry and agriculture. (Ethnic Chinese who are MPR citizens have not been directly affected by the order.)

Observers assumed that the expulsion had Soviet backing. However, it is notable that Sino-Soviet relations have improved slightly in recent years, while PRC-MPR relations have not. In April, the Mongolian Communist Party paper Unen charged that the Chinese leadership was "pro-American" and "hegemonist."

Though there have been exceptional instances,

in the past, Chinese in Mongolia have usually been well-treated. They were, however, apparently confined to an area 50 miles in diameter.

Estimates of the number expelled range up to 8,000, but it is probably much smaller. On June 3 the Chinese press put the number ordered to state farms at "1,764," with only those refusing being expelled. The Mongolian ambassador in Peking was told that the number expelled was 1,764. It was claimed that they were subjected to humiliating searches and forced to flee with only their clothes. Included were old, sick, pregnant, and babies.

Ulan Bator denies that there has been any generalized campaign against Chinese, saying that only those who "shirk socially useful work" or "systematically and maliciously" violated the law are affected. NYT23m, 4,5J; WP 2J; Aw17J

Japan's "Koreans"

The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists has urged the Japanese government to consider restoring Japanese nationality to 200,000 ethnic Koreans in Japan.* At the very least, the ICJ declared, members of the minority should be accorded all social security and other welfare benefits enjoyed by ethnic Japanese.†

The organization notes that most of the people in question came to Japan generations ago. Often they were displaced and forced to leave Korea as a result of the Japanese colonial ruler's harsh administration. For example, in 1911, many people lost their land, and could not support themselves in Korea. Thus, between 1916 and 1920 the Korean population in Japan rose from 6,000 to over 40,000. The number now stands at 65,000. There is also a small Taiwanese minority, but they seem to be subject to less discrimination.

Prior to 1945, the ICJ notes, Koreans in Japan enjoyed almost all the rights and responsibilities of ethnic Japanese. They could vote, and were conscripted. "It is clear, therefore, that the members of the Korean minority were regarded as Japanese citizens." However, in 1947 an Alien Registration Law was enacted, Article 11 of which states:

"For the time being, Taiwanese whose status is determined by the Minister of Interior and Koreans shall be regarded as aliens for the purpose of the administration of this law."

By the terms of the law, aliens are required to carry special registration cards. In 1952 the requirements became even more stringent, and

ethnic Koreans and Taiwanese in Japan formally lost Japanese nationality. However, Koreans and Taiwanese, who had lived in Japan since 1945, and their children, were permitted to remain.

Although the Supreme Court of Japan has upheld the denationalization of Koreans (M. Kanda v. State of Japan, 1961), it is the position of the ICJ that "the Korean minority had acquired Japanese nationality and were therefore in law no longer Koreans. A parallel case of an Austrian in Germany is cited.

An added complication is that Japan only recognizes the Republic of Korea (South Korea). If an ethnic Korean in Japan does not accept citizenship of the ROK, he or she is a stateless person. Thus, they generally cannot obtain passports required to travel to other countries. This situation would appear to contravene Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see p. 2).§

Especially serious is the situation of 4,500 stateless persons in the former Japanese island of Sakhalin, now part of the Soviet Union. Japan refuses to act on their behalf.

The report notes that nationality deprivation is part of a larger pattern of discrimination against ethnic Koreans in Japan. The case is cited of a man who repeatedly was denied a job with Hitachi until he applied under a Japanese name. §

RESOURCES: Changsoo Lee, George de Vos, et al., *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*. University of California Press, 2223 Fulton St., Berkeley CA. \$32.50.

Buraku Liberation News, no. 13 (14 Mar 83). Contains useful information about discrimination of Japan's Buraku minority. [1-6-12, Kuboyoshi, Naniwa-ku, Osaka 556.]

* Text in ICJ Review, Dec. 1982.

† Non-citizens are generally ineligible for help under the Law for Special Assistance to Wounded Veterans, the Law for Aid to the Family of Deceased and Disabled Veterans, and the Retirement Pension Law for Public Servants. Thus, the ICJ notes, "Koreans who, at a time when they were citizens, volunteered for or were conscripted into military service in the Japanese forces, or who were engaged in public service, are not deprived of the benefits which they had earned by their service."

§ Considering the special expertise that the ICJ usually evidences with regard to international human rights instruments, the discussion of the conventions pertaining to stateless persons is somewhat disappointing (p. 33). The instruments are not clearly identified or described.

LEGEND

Source citations are usually given in coded form. When a citation includes a six-digit number, our source is U. S. Joint Publications Service (JPRS), and that number is the JPRS issue number. A beta (ß) indicates that our source is a broadcast transcript. Unless otherwise indicated, the source for broadcast transcripts is U. S. Foreign Broadcast Information Service: Daily Report (FBIS). Usually preceding the ß is the date of the original document. (If that is irrelevant or unknown, the date of broadcast appears instead.) If different, the date that the transcript was published follows the ß. (If there is no second date, the two are the same.)

All inquiries about source materials should be directed to the respective publisher, and not to SPEAHR. The publisher of JPRS and FBIS is National Technical Information Service, Department of Commerce, Springfield VA 22161, USA. Tel: (703) 557-4650. (Addresses of obscure publishers are usually included in the citations.)

A April	FCW Free China Weekly (ROC)	LAT Los Angeles Times	SC Sichuan Province
a August	FEE Far Eastern Econ. Review	LN Liaoning Province	SCM South China Morning Post
AE Asahi Evening News	FJ Fujian Province	M March	SD Shandong
AFP Agence France Presse	GD Guangdong Province	m May	SH Greater Shanghai
AH Anhui Province	GM Guangming Daily	MD Mainichi Daily News	Sh SPEAHRhead
AP Associated Press	GS Gansu Province	MPR Mongolian People's Rep.	SK South Korea
AR autonomous region	GX Guangxi Zhuang AR	MRK Monthly Rev Korean Afrs	Sn Shaanxi (Shensi) Prov.
Aw Asiaweek	GZ Guizhou Province	N November	SX Shanxi (Shansi) Prov.
AWJ Asian Wall St. Journal	HB Hubei Province	NF Nanfang Ribao	SS SPEAHR's private sources
BI Ba-I Radio	Heb Hebei Province	NK North Korea	T Tibet (Xizang) AR
BJ Beijing (greater Peking)	Hen Henan Province	NL News & Letters (Detroit)	TC Taiwan Communiqué
BR Beijing Review	HK Hong Kong	NM Nei (Inner) Monggol AR	TJ Greater Tianjin
BX Bai Xing	HKS Hong Kong Standard	NX Ningxia (Hui) AR	TK Tokyo
ß broadcast transcript	HL Heilongjiang Province	NYT New York Times	TW Taiwan
C China (People's Rep.)	HN Hunan Province	o October	U USSR
c circa	HQ Hongqi (Red Flag)	OB Taiwan Church News:	UPI United Press Int'l.
CD China Daily	I January	Occasional Bulletin	v volume
CDM Monthly Bulletin Chinese	J June	PD People's Daily	WB wan bao
Democratic Movement	j July	PK People's Korea	WP Washington Post
CF Ching Feng	JL Jilin Province	PN Pa-shih nien-tai	XH Xinhua/New China
CLG Chinese Law & Gov't	JP Japan	PRC People's Rep. of China	News Agency
CP China Post (Taipei)	JS Jiangsu Province	QH Qinghai Province	XJ Xinjiang (Uygur) AR
CPC Communist Party of China	JT Japan Times	QN Qishi niandai	YN Yunnan Province
CSM Christian Science Montr.	JX Jiangxi Province	R Reuters	Y RMB (PRC), yen (Japan)
D December	K Kyodo	RB Ribao (daily newspaper)	ZJ Zhejiang Province
	KC Korea Communiqué	ROC Rep. of China (Taiwan)	ZM Zhengming

GUIDE to the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

See page 2 for complete text.

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